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## THE SOUTHWESTERN SOCIAL SCIENCE QUARTERLY

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THE QUARTERLY*

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### RECONCILING JEFFERSONIAN PRINCIPLES WITH THE NEW DEAL\*

BY ROBERT K. GOOCH

*University of Virginia*

Several years ago, we had at the University of Virginia a rather remarkable opportunity. We were privileged to hear a series of charming lectures by Mr. Walter Lippmann. Some of you have possibly had occasion to read them in book form under the same title as the series of lectures, namely, *American Inquisitors*. In these lectures, you will perhaps recall, Mr. Lippmann employs in extremely effective fashion a modern adaptation of the Platonic dialogue. In one instance, I remember, the characters, other than Socrates, were Thomas Jefferson and William Jennings Bryan. In their discussion, they encounter a difficulty so serious as apparently to land them in a real dilemma. For present purposes, I may pass over the details of the discussion which led to the difficulty and confine myself merely to stating the problem. The question is what an individual can do if, in a community where the will of the majority prevails, the majority wills to disregard certain "fundamental principles." Mr. Lippmann, I remember, has Mr. Bryan elect to move to a Christian country. Mr. Jefferson proclaims that he would exercise the sacred right of revolution. Says Socrates: "I'd reëxamine my fundamental principles."

I propose on the present occasion to attempt a reëxamination of certain fundamental principles. They are, as you know, principles commonly associated with Mr. Jefferson. I trust that the examination may be undertaken, though not in the form of the Socratic method, to some extent, at least, in accordance with the spirit of

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\*This paper was read at the annual meeting of the Southwestern Social Science Association at Oklahoma City, April 19, 1935.

that method. At all events, to employ a slightly more modern context, the examination, however insufficient, will be based on a genuine belief in the dictum written by George Mason into the famous Virginia Bill of Rights, "That . . . the blessings of liberty can not be preserved to any people but . . . by frequent recurrence to fundamental principles."

The coming of the New Deal, I suggest, has been followed—in fact, was almost immediately followed—by a decidedly curious situation. Though many people, apparently, have seen in the epoch-making events of the last two or three years only a formidable effort to rehabilitate industry and to restore agriculture, not a few others have conceived things in a very different way. They suggest that the era of Jeffersonianism has come to an end, that the principles of Jefferson, after serving long and honorably as the basis of our national life, have been brusquely discarded. Now, the striking thing is that, according to this view, collective responsibility for this desertion of Jefferson must rest with Jefferson's followers. The Democratic Party, we need not be reminded, has always claimed with justifiable pride that Thomas Jefferson was its founder and that it has continued firmly founded on Jeffersonian principles. And now, according to the contention of those whom I have mentioned, the Democratic Party has removed "the ancient landmark" which its father set.

This attitude, it seems to me, is particularly typical of certain self-appointed champions of liberty. Some of them are the traditional, the unquestioning champions of liberty. Others, a short time ago, could scarcely have been classified as any kind of champions of liberty; but opposition to the New Deal appears to make strange bed-fellows. However that may be, all of these champions of liberty fail to examine very curiously the nature of the thing they are championing. They for the most part merely raise cries of alarm, and continue to remain alarmed. Mr. Alfred E. Smith will perhaps serve as an example. To those of us who have admired and supported him, his expression, through his recent medium, of an outlook which scarcely deserved to be called new, was almost pathetic. "The New Deal," he wrote soon after its inception, "goes beyond anything my imagination can follow. . . . I may be old-fashioned, but I can't understand how it can possibly work. . . . All this . . . is a long way from the traditional role of the Democratic Party, which has been since the days of Jefferson the party . . . of individualism," etc., etc. Mr. Smith, as I say, and

others like him, for example his companions of the Liberty League, have been alarmed; and they have been continually crying out in alarm against the apparently inevitable destruction of liberty and other Jeffersonian principles. So far as I am aware, they have not yet suggested, like Mr. Bryan, that they will move to a Christian country. Though they are alarmed champions of what they conceive to be Jeffersonian principles, they are not unnaturally reluctant to follow Mr. Jefferson so far as to advocate exercise of the inalienable right of revolution. At the same time, it is perfectly certain that they have shown little inclination to reexamine his fundamental principles.

Those persons who, as I have suggested, contend, without very thoughtful attention to fundamental principles, that events since the coming of the New Deal have been manifesting a revolutionary departure from Jeffersonian principles develop an argument which appears relatively simple. It is in essence something like this. Jefferson believed that public authority, operating through government, should be confined within the narrowest limits. He declared that the government which governs least is the best government. He contended that in the apparently eternal antithesis between authority on the one hand and individual liberty on the other, the interests of the people are best served by an emphasis on individualism, by consistent preference for individual initiative over authoritarian control. And yet the party of Jefferson, in its effort to bring about the New Deal, has struck a vigorous blow, so the argument runs, at many long accepted forms of individual initiative and freedom. Thus, complaint is made, people are authoritatively told for what hours they may employ other people, what the output of farm or factory may be, what wages must be paid, what standards must be maintained, and so on. The lives and activities of certain persons, individual and corporate, have been *regimented*—that, I think, is the favorite word—in ways never dreamed of by them before. Many things the determination of which these persons have been accustomed to think of as their sacred right are now being determined for them.

In the past, long before the New Deal was urged upon our attention, a voice was from time to time raised proclaiming that if Jefferson were on earth today, he could not be elected to the office of constable. Now, if this means anything, it is apparently meant to be an unfavorable judgment concerning the body of electors.

It is apparently suggested that they are possessed of so little wisdom that they have abandoned the principles of Jefferson and would consequently refuse to elect to an insignificant office that great man, if he were on earth advocating those principles today. Now, however just or unjust such a view of the present day electorate may be, it contains in it an implication most unfair to Jefferson himself. It falsely assumes, contrary to the letter and spirit of Jefferson's own utterances, that Jefferson was a man incapable of development and of adaptation to changing circumstances. It supposes, with curious lack of imagination, that if Jefferson were on earth today, he would be an eighteenth century man with eighteenth century views. As a matter of fact, nothing could be further from the probable truth. Any reasonably careful study of his attitude towards human welfare will, I think, prove this sufficiently. If Jefferson were on earth today, far from being an eighteenth century man in the twentieth century, he would be in the forefront of every struggle which to his great vision might appear calculated to make life better for that mass of the people in which he had such a passionate interest and such strong confidence. More specifically, he would beyond reasonable doubt most certainly be a staunch supporter of the underlying principles of the New Deal. As everyone knows, Jefferson was a man of encyclopaedic interests; and no detail was so minute as to escape his attention. Consequently, if he were alive today, he would undoubtedly concern himself with the workings of the multiform agencies associated with the New Deal; and with respect to them he would probably form definite opinions as to whether they are working, will work, or can work. Most of his specific ideas, we may assume, would be wise; some of them would doubtless be mistaken. At the same time, he would, I may repeat, be unequivocally on the side of a deal that assumes the priority of the welfare of all the people over the privilege of the few and that proceeds on belief in the superiority, which no repetition or sneers can render banal, of human rights over all others. It is inconceivable that he should stand on any other side. And if some narrow notion of liberalism or liberty should be thrown up to him as an objection to his position on the side of the mass of the people, he would doubtless reconcile without difficulty his position and his principles. Those who could not in changed conditions follow him in a right and rational development of his principles, he would urge to make the most of his inconsistency.



Thomas Jefferson well knew what most people apparently forget, that individualism or liberalism is not so much a theory as a kind of tendency, that it is not so much a fixed doctrine as a particular emphasis, that it is not so much an ultimate principle as a point of view, that it is not absolute but relative. We ought not for a moment to forget this. A narrow conception of individualism or liberalism contains but a part truth, which, like most part truths, is worse than no truth at all. This, I think, is particularly true of a prevalent practice with which we are all acquainted. The principle of individualism and liberalism is invoked in order to oppose any increase of governmental action, any extension of control by public authority beyond its boundaries at any given time. And yet this practice manifestly offends against both reason and history. Reason cannot avoid the conclusion that a consistent application of this absolute view of individualism and liberalism would not only render impossible all development in the orderly life of a people but would have prevented the very establishment of order in life from the beginning. In other words, individualism or liberalism as an absolute principle leads straight to anarchy and chaos, and nowhere else. So also, history, as even a superficial reading of its modern aspects will show, suggests that most of the great improvements in human life effected through public authority have met with opposition in the past. Things which are now accepted as indispensable have been opposed on the ground that employment of governmental authority with respect to the matter in question would seriously interfere with individual enterprise, would cramp the development of individuality, and would stunt the growth of initiative. In this connection, there frequently comes to my mind a well authenticated story told of the time, several generations ago, when in England the view was slowly and with much difficulty coming to prevail, that dangers to good health were a proper subject for governmental regulation rather than a matter which was either the concern solely of private effort and care or else an "Act of God" visited upon human individuals for the purpose of trying their patience or punishing them for their sins. Amongst the horrifying examples cited by a deputation which advocated legislation in the matter was the case of a man who had succeeded in turning diseased liver into raspberry jam. A particularly enlightened official stated that while he could not but sympathize with the demand for action by public

authority, he was constrained to regret any limitation on the individual initiative and inventiveness of a man who in some sense ought to be considered a benefactor of the human race.

The classic statement of the principle according to which the amount of control by public authority is to be reckoned in an individualistic society is contained in the famous Declaration of the Rights of Man. The fourth article of this eighteenth century French document runs in a literal translation as follows: "Liberty consists in being able to do everything which does not harm another. The exercise of the natural rights of every man has only those limits which assure to other members of society the enjoyment of those same rights. These limits can be determined only by law." There are many other expressions of this idea, but they all come in the end to the same thing. Public authority, operating through government and law, ought to be confined where possible within relatively narrow limits; but those limits ought always to be wide enough to ensure that the force of society as a whole will be brought to bear upon any individuals who attempt to carry what they call their liberty to the point of interfering with the liberty of other individuals.

As a matter of fact, the dictum that the best governed state is the least governed state, while it does not emphasize public authority, does very clearly imply that there must exist some control of individual action through government. Though this dictum, in the interest of liberty, merely posits by implication the use of government, in order to stress the importance of avoiding its abuse, it by no means implies that there shall be no government at all. It assumes that civilized people will be so nearly unanimously agreed on the need for employment of a certain amount of control by public authority that, in certain conditions, they may for practical purposes give their principal attention to securing that the amount shall not be excessive. And yet the relative character of the very terms in which the dictum is expressed demonstrates that no fixed amount of public authority is intended. Some there must be; how much will vary with conditions.

The conditions with which Thomas Jefferson was acquainted were, of course, comparatively simple and even relatively primitive. They were essentially conditions of an early agricultural age. Furthermore, they were, as we know, much influenced by the frontier. We think of frontier conditions, of course, as



typically individualistic. They produced a people who were accustomed to stand on their own feet. And yet where an individual attempted to take advantage of these conditions to prey upon other individuals and where he thus showed himself a public enemy, public authority manifested itself in almost spontaneous coöperation to control him. Jefferson, of course, knew that crimes are committed in the name of freedom. No matter how highly he thought of the human individual, he knew that in an individualistic society certain individuals will always construe their selfish interest and their private gain as individual freedom; and he would have been the first to coöperate in protecting other individuals from such people.

Conditions in the twentieth century, it is platitudinous to recall, are very different from those of two centuries or a century ago. Life is vastly more complicated and complex. The contemporary era may be regarded, I think, as characterized by the arrival of the capitalist system at maturity and the concomitant growth of the modern proletariat. It is a commonplace that conditions of the frontier no longer predominate. Indeed, as Mr. Henry A. Wallace argues in his charming book, *New Frontiers*, the physical frontier has disappeared forever. Our civilization is less and less agrarian and more and more industrial. Emphasis has been shifted from the political to the economic. Economic democracy and economic equality, if, as seems likely, they are destined to be realized, have yet to be won.

The far-reaching changes which mark the difference between the eighteenth and twentieth centuries, changes which we commonly associate with the Industrial Revolution, must cause real modern liberals, I think, just as I believe they would cause Thomas Jefferson if he were alive today, to make an adaptation of Jeffersonian principles in two directions. The first modification is merely an extension of the simple negative eighteenth century principle of individualism and liberalism. The second involves some shift of emphasis from a more negative to a more positive view of public authority. They are, I think, both parts of the same thing and easily reconcilable with true Jeffersonianism.

In the first place, then, from the negative point of view, a certain natural extension of eighteenth century individualism is suggested by twentieth century conditions. The very economic forces which render life so much more complex than in the eighteenth

century, which present for solution so many complicated and difficult social and commercial problems, require, beyond any reasonable doubt, a greatly extended control by public authority. Individuals in the twentieth century, with all the technological advances that have been made, find standing on their own feet not less difficult but more difficult. In order to make their way through this life and to make some contribution to it, they require as much self-reliance as in frontier conditions. They require, in fact, an even more highly developed ability. This has been finely put by Mr. Wallace in the book to which I referred. For him it is a simple fact that the old physical frontier has disappeared forever. He thinks of the new frontiers as those of the mind and the spirit. There can be little doubt, it seems to me, but that the manifest sincerity with which persons like Mr. Wallace believe in the possibility of penetrating to the land beyond the new frontiers is the greatest inspiration which is offered today to true liberals and to the masses of the people. How lasting or how effective the appeal of that inspiration will be remains to be seen. It undoubtedly requires the cultivation of virtues more difficult than the virtues of the old frontier. Mr. Wallace recognizes frankly that we may fail; but he does not think we will, if we become "permeated with the spirit of the new pioneers not only in a sentimental, but also in a hard-boiled, hard-thinking way." However, that may be, ordinary individuals at the present day need, in the struggle to survive, vastly more protection than formerly. For, even in the twentieth century, of course, there are many who in the name of personal freedom and individual initiative seek their own selfish interest and their private gain. Furthermore, the very complexity of modern life has given to those who prey on other individuals, that is, to those who prey on the great mass of individuals, a tremendous power. As Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., stated a year or two ago, "the pressure of economic conditions" leads easily to "exploitation" of the mass of individuals. It is a power which for many makes life practically impossible and for others makes it little worth while.

The principle that no person shall be interfered with so long as he does not harm another person, however plausible and appealing, is not without its limits and its need of definition. Thus, when the "person" involved is a human individual, application of the principle may perhaps be pushed to the point of allowing him,

for example, to manage his business in such a way as to ruin himself. But if the "person" involved is a large corporation, application of the principle is very different. Such a "person," of course, in pushing liberty to the point of self-destruction, harms large numbers of individual human persons through their savings, through their insurance, and in many other ways. This a corporate "person" cannot be allowed to do. As a matter of fact, we all know that many such "persons" bitterly oppose any interference on the part of public authority with their freedom to bring themselves to the brink of ruin and then plead for the intervention of government with a view to saving the innocent and the weak from destruction. Already indications are appearing which warn us that such "persons" will bitterly oppose a permanent extension of the principle of individualism in the interest of innocent and weak individuals and that, with any signs of returning prosperity, they claim exemption from regulation in the name of personal liberty.

A short while ago, a former member of the Wickersham Committee, a gentleman by no means commonly regarded as a radical, stated that he had brought one principal impression from a far-flung study of the conditions which make life difficult in this country. It was the impression that the basic rules of action are identical for racketeers and for many leaders of industrial and other vested interests. Those rules of action, he said, are the same as those of piracy.

Pirates are, in reality, an excellent example of the extreme to which a narrow and partial concept of Jeffersonian individualism may be pushed. They act with an individual initiative and a sense of self-reliance which are in the abstract admirable. Their freedom has made its appeal to many a red-blooded person who has not come into contact with them; and some pirates, such for example as Robin Hood or Captain Kidd, have occupied an exalted position in the eyes of romantic people. And yet the fact remains and cannot be compensated for, that pirates prey on other individuals and are public enemies. It would be absurd for them to invoke any Jeffersonian principle as a reason for them and their actions to be left uncontrolled. Jefferson himself would have been amazed at any such application of a principle connected with his name. In reality, he had his own analogy for the figurative pirates with which he was acquainted. Of what he called "our moneyed corporations" he wrote to John Taylor that they "are more danger-

ous than standing armies." He said that their "dominion . . . must be broken or it will break us." For, as he realized full well, the dictum that the least governed state is the best governed state involves, as I have suggested, two corollaries which are no less real and important for being implied rather than expressed. The first is that public authority must relentlessly restrain and control those who attempt to prey upon the individuals forming society. The second is that all individuals must coöperate in imposing this restraint. These corollaries are as much a part of true individualism as any dictum about freedom. In fact, without them, liberty has no real meaning.

And yet we continue instinctively and naturally not only to feel the appeal of eighteenth century ideas but also to apply them and allow them to be applied, according to an even more rigid interpretation than could have prevailed in Jefferson's day, to twentieth century conditions. We have allowed ourselves to be made romantic about captains of industry in somewhat the same way we have been romantic about Captain Kidd. We have been taught to admire the "rugged individualism" of those who by great courage and perseverance, so we are told, have built up great industrial and commercial empires. We have as yet very little learned how to drown our admiration for these fancied virtues in a flood of moral indignation at the methods employed. We are very little able to transcend the question of individuals. All of us are acquainted with examples of individuals who have attained to success apparently by their own talents but in reality at the expense of others. They are frequently very likable personally. Often their personality is unforbidding or attractive. And yet we have not learned to regard this as in reality beside the point. We must, of course, distinguish between the worthy and the unworthy; and we may in fairness recognize that a definite tendency has undoubtedly existed in some quarters to blame on both every evil of the present crisis. We may readily admit that people have at times tended to compensate for having thought too highly of our former leaders by unreasonably thinking too badly of them now. We may even agree that, in view of our history, they do only what is natural when they resist control of their efforts to secure private gain at the expense of others. In view of our history, we cannot altogether blame them for defending their resistance on the ground that such control is an interference with their individual liberty. In thinking of them as individuals, we may make allowance for the fact that



no one of them as an individual is responsible for the system of which they are a part. At the same time, we must learn to feel that what they stand for as a group ought in the twentieth century to be controlled in the interest of society as rigidly as the anti-social acts of individuals were repressed on the frontier,—and on the same principle. We cannot allow a complicated and powerful system relentlessly to proceed on its way uncontrolled as in the past. "As a permanent part of American life," declared Mr. Roosevelt in his Hyde Park Speech, "not for just one or two years," there must be an "insistence that individuals and associations of individuals shall cease doing many things which have been hurting their neighbors."

The vast difference between eighteenth century and twentieth century conditions not only demands of true Jeffersonians some such extension as I have suggested of the negative principle of individualism; it also suggests to liberals modification in the direction of a more positive view of government. Several years ago a distinguished English writer began one of his scholarly books with this sentence: "A new political philosophy is necessary to a new world." Strikingly enough, during the last two years, persons in authority in this country have on several occasions stated that we have need at the present time for a new theory of the state. Though, for rather obvious reasons, this somewhat abstract suggestion has apparently received much less attention than the various concrete proposals which go to make up the programme of the New Deal, at the same time, the implication is not without interest that, in a period like the one in which we are now living, clear fundamental thinking is especially desirable.

This is not the occasion, of course, to advance even in outline, a new political philosophy. I can only suggest, in concluding, that the concepts of liberty and liberalism can claim and should receive full and careful treatment. To take a single piece of evidence, I may point out that at present the simple matter of terminology is so uncertain as to result, at the very outset, in all sorts of difficulties and anomalies. For example, I need not remind you that Mr. Hoover recently wrote a book in defense of liberty. The position which he defends, you will remember, he has no hesitation in denominating *liberalism*. Now, this on the face of it would make those who advocate the principles of the New Deal, Mr. Wallace for example, champions of conservatism. There is surely something anomalous in that. In reality, it is only one example of the anomalies in terminology to which I referred.

Students of the history of political thought are in no wise surprised by these anomalies. They are familiar with numerous examples of the same thing in modern history. The forces of conservatism and reaction and persons who are in those traditions have often set themselves up as the champions of liberty and appropriated the labels *liberal* and *liberalism*. Therefore, students of political thought see in things like the appearance of Mr. Hoover's book and the creation of the Liberty League only what they would have expected. This is almost certainly one of the reasons why a student like Mr. Roosevelt, when he read the statement that certain vested interests regarded the Liberty League as a heaven-sent answer to their prayers, is reported to have laughed heartily in bed.

The simple explanation of the anomaly is, of course, the change from a supremacy of political considerations in the state to a paramountcy of social and economic considerations. The great tradition of liberty and liberalism was, as I have been arguing, established before the change took place. Original champions of liberty and liberalism, like Mr. Jefferson, were well aware that liberty and liberalism were not an end in themselves. These principles were in those circumstances merely a very valuable means for defending the mass of the people against the privileged class, in whose hands political power rested for the moment. Liberty and liberalism were the means for seeking the general interest of the masses. This general interest was the true end. It has, of course, been called by many names, of which the "greatest good," the "general welfare," and the "public interest" are only examples. The Greeks, it will be recalled, spoke of "the good life." In recent months, we have not infrequently heard of "the abundant life." By whatever name the true end of the state is called, to identify liberty with it, however natural this may be in view of the historic importance of liberty as an instrument and in view of the pleasant associations with which the word and concept have become encrusted, remains none the less a confusion of means and end. Those who are in the tradition of the privileged classes, that is to say, those who are in the tradition of conservatism, likewise possess a concept of the general interest. It is, however, a fundamentally different concept from that of the masses. This difference is what really determines the basic issue between liberalism and conservatism. In other words, liberalism and conservatism differ in their real aims; and only



confusion can result from identifying either of these aims, especially that of conservatism, with liberty.

Historically, as the masses and the traditional champions of liberty have succeeded in getting greater political power into their hands and as they have displayed some tendency to use this power in connection with the social and economic matters which have been asserting their paramountcy, the conservatives, when the occasion seems propitious, have always put themselves forward as the champions of liberalism. They do this partly because they are alarmed at the use of political power by others and in the interest of others than themselves, partly because they conceive that political liberty would now best serve the interest of their economic and social privileges, and partly because identification of the pleasant associations of liberty with their concept of the general interest seems to them expedient. At present, they really mean by liberty the Old Deal concept of what is good for people. Thus, for example, the title of Mr. Hoover's book in reality means "The Challenge to the Old Deal Idea of What Is Good for People." Having tried the experiment of substituting some such locution wherever the vague word *liberty* or *liberalism* appears, I can recommend this procedure to anyone who desires to know what Mr. Hoover's book is really about, what the Liberty League really favors, or why there is alarm at the New Deal and opposition to it.

## STATE OWNERSHIP IN URUGUAY

BY SIMON G. HANSON

*Harvard University*

NOTE: All statistical data are from the successive issues of *Memoria de la Administracion General de las Usinas Electricas del Estado*. Small inconsistencies in the totals arise from the fact that we have rounded off all numbers to the nearest thousand pesos, and because the various issues contain slightly different figures. Wherever the dollar sign (\$) appears, it refers to the Uruguayan peso, equivalent to \$1.03 at the old parity.

Despite the fact that Uruguay has been generally recognized as the leading laboratory for social experimentation in South America no serious attempt has yet been made to evaluate her experiments in State-owned industries. The list of enterprises in which the State now participates actively includes electric light and power, telegraphs, telephones, postal service, railways, tramways, manufacture of chemical products and cement, distribution of oil, insurance, banking, mortgage banking, seal fishing, meat packing, food retailing, hotels and pleasure resorts. Along with the extension of State industry has come the speedy enactment of progressive labor legislation which has made its present labor code probably the most comprehensive on the continent. It includes provisions for the eight-hour day and the six-day week for all workers including domestic servants and farm labor, minimum wages for government employees and farm labor, retirement pensions, old age pensions, invalidity insurance, compensation for accidents, recognition of the right to bargain collectively, and careful regulation of conditions of work.

Of the State industries the electric light and power enterprise is considered by many to have been the most successful. It has been proudly cited as indicative of the possibilities of State ownership by those advocating further nationalization in Uruguay; its alleged success has interested other South American governments studying the case for public ownership. In this article the writer examines more fully than has hitherto been done the workings of the Usinas Electricas del Estado in the period up to 1929; data are not available for the years since 1929.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>After 1929 the Usinas embarked upon a new policy which included a great expansion in the interior. This was done partly as a measure of public works. The State, furthermore, has been unable to withstand the temptation to dip into the funds of the Usinas.

*History*

Private enterprise was responsible for the introduction of electric lighting in Uruguay. In 1885 Marcelino Diaz y Garcia presented a project for public lighting by electricity to the Junta Economico-Administrativo de Montevideo. The Montevideo Gas Company, a British-owned firm, had held a twenty-year public lighting concession which expired in 1887; the loss of this business cut away a third of its revenue and for a long time thereafter the company suffered from excess capacity and an original heavy capitalization that had been predicated partly on the public contract. Lighting by electricity was new at the time; technique was grossly imperfect everywhere and especially in Uruguay where both materials and personnel had to be imported; the plant which Diaz set up was the first electric light plant in South America.

Diaz was enterprising, bold, and alert to the opportunities afforded by new industries, but he was lacking in technical knowledge and in financial resources. To strengthen his basis of operations he formed the *Compañía Uruguaya de Alumbrado a Gas y Luz Electrica*, capitalized at \$1,300,000. Unfortunately the market was so wholly uninterested in the electric industry that the first issue of shares found no purchasers whatever. Failing to find public support, Diaz in 1889 sold the *Compañía Uruguaya* to the *Compañía Nacional de Credito y Obras Publicas* for \$861,165.23; the latter then formed the *Compañía Nacional de Luz Electrica* with capital of \$1,300,000 to take over the property.<sup>2</sup> There were then 148 users of electric lighting in the capital. The early nineties were difficult years in Uruguayan financial history; the securities of the struggling electric company passed from the portfolio of the *Compañía Nacional de Credito y Obras Publicas* to the London and River Plate Bank and thence to the Banco Nacional. Meanwhile little advance was being made in the supply of electricity; in 1893 a newly appointed board sought to improve the position of the company by reducing the initial capital, arranging more advantageous relations with the Montevideo Gas Company, and increasing the capacity of the generating plant, but the business remained on an uncertain basis. Finally in 1896 in the liquidation of the Banco Nacional the company

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<sup>2</sup>The transactions by which ownership of the firm changed are discussed in *Memoria de la Administracion General de las Usinas Electricas del Estado, Ejercicios 1911-12 y 1912-13*.

passed into the hands of the Junta Economico-Administrativo de Montevideo. There were by this time 440 consumers of electricity.

Article 25 of the law of February 12, 1896, by which the Junta took control of the plant provided that the plant should be leased to a private company if satisfactory terms could be arranged. This proved to be impossible and accordingly the Junta undertook to operate the Luz Electrica through a Consejo de Administracion consisting of a chairman and two members. The history of the Luz Electrica during the next decade is sadly reminiscent of a catalog of the evils of public ownership at its worst. Rates were high; governmental control had been marked by a decrease in the rate for private service from \$0.48 per kilowatt hour (fixed in 1893) to \$0.40 in 1899, but no further reduction was made until 1907. Service was bad. The management was slow to make costly improvements to replace antiquated though still usable equipment. Capacity was held behind demand and the generalization of service for both domestic and industrial purposes was thus delayed; the plant was utterly unable to cope with the requirements of industry for power and at times notices had to be posted setting limits on the number of new lighting installations that could be taken care of in the current period; there were 2026 customers in June 30, 1905.

Administration was costly and inefficient; politicians who could not be placed elsewhere found their way to important positions with the Luz Electrica that should have been held by trained men; the directing board was paid on the basis of 7 per cent of the profits and it managed to show, by its accounting methods, a profit of slightly under \$100,000 annually from 1896-1905, but the plant was allowed to run down badly and adequate provision for taxes would further weaken the significance of the earnings figures. On the other hand, it must be remembered that private enterprise had been unable to make a go of the business, that criticism of rates was equally loud in reference to the privately-owned waterworks company, that the competition of the Luz Electrica caused improvements in the service and rates of the Gas Company. It was impossible to stave off permanently the advance of electric lighting but the aggressively managed Gas Company expanded its business greatly by successive rate decreases in 1887, 1896 and 1905, by improvements in the quality of gas, by a campaign to increase the use of gas for cooking, heating and power which contrasted sharply with the indifferent

TABLE I  
Gross Profits\*  
(in thousands of pesos)

1889	—5	1898	105
1890	—3	1899	102
1891	14	1900	97
1892	23	1901	108
1893	29	1902	115
1894	48	1903	76
1895	40	1904	79
1896	81	1905	10
1897	80	(Jan. and Feb.)	

\*Before payment of 7 per cent to the Consejo de Administracion and a varying amount (about \$6000) to the City. The remainder was applied to increasing the capital.

attitude of the managers of the Luz Electrica; many hotels and other large establishments having their own electric light plants used gas to drive their dynamos.<sup>3</sup>

By 1904 private enterprise was quite willing to take over the burden of supplying electricity; offers were received from a German firm supplying electricity in Buenos Aires and from one of the Montevideo tram companies planning electrification of its lines. The Government, however, was definitely opposed to withdrawal by the State. Battle y Ordoñez was beginning to turn his attentions to the "functions of the modern state." His ideas on this subject were later incorporated in a message to the legislature:

The State of today is an economic organization and as such must assume without hesitation the supply of certain services with the aim of arriving at a fairer distribution of national wealth. The modern State undertakes to monopolize certain services that were formerly open to all or governed by concessions . . . in most cases for reasons of public interest. There are many reasons: certain industries by their very nature . . . can not be competitive; again, Government monopolies already constitute important sources of revenue and will become more so in the future when they will relieve the serious problems of taxation; finally in some cases it is not expedient to have a continuing export of money which is a portion of the national wealth.

<sup>3</sup>Reported by the Chairman of the Montevideo Gas Company at the annual meeting of the shareholders in 1908. (*The South American Journal*, August 29, 1908.)



Thus despite the notorious deficiencies in the service rendered by the Luz Electrica, Battle y Ordoñez demanded a monopoly of the supply of electric light and power and a reorganization of the plant. By decree of March 2, 1905, the Consejo de Administracion was enlarged to five members and was ordered to formulate plans for the modernization of the plant; capacity was inadequate, the overhead lines had long been criticized as obstructive and dangerous, especially in the defective condition which they had been allowed to reach, and there were numerous other improvements to be made. By law 3121 of September 27, 1906, the name of the enterprise was changed from Luz Electrica to Usina Electrica de Montevideo; a bond issue of \$1,200,000 secured by the income of the Usina and backed by the general revenues of the State was authorized; these funds were to be spent in plant improvement; the Usina was given the exclusive privilege of selling electric light and power in Montevideo for twenty years; the Executive was given power to fix rates; profits, after setting aside 15 per cent for reserves, were to go to the Junta Economico-Administrativo de Montevideo.

Meanwhile the smaller cities had begun to demand electric light and power and their needs were practically all met by private enterprise. The concessions usually specified a minimum amount of public lighting and a certain reserve capacity, established maximum rates for the various classes of service were of limited duration, frequently granted exemption from taxation. A clause authorizing expropriation of the plant at the end of a stated interval was usually inserted in the concessions: that of the City of Mercedes, for instance, permitted expropriation after ten years at the value of installations plus 20 per cent; that of Melo provided that the plant would pass to the Municipality free of charge at the termination of the concession. The city of Fray Bentos installed its own plant.

The original intention of the sponsors of the law of 1906 had been to make it possible for the Usina Electrica to supply electricity for power, but the Commission de Fomento de la Camara de Representantes proposed that the extensions be aimed at cheapening the lighting service as well, and the law was passed on the promise of lower rates and better service. Actually the improvements were delayed in construction, costs greatly exceeded estimates, the management balked at lowering rates although it did reluctantly lower rates for private service to an average of \$0.20 per kilowatt hour in 1907 and to \$0.12 in 1909.



Those who wished to use electricity for power were especially irritated at the illiberal interpretation of the monopoly clause. While the public plant was undergoing renovation the excess capacity of the power houses of the tramway companies might have been used, but the State ruled against sales by them to third parties. Late in 1908 an even more ridiculous ruling prohibited a manufacturer who used power generated by his own machines from laying a cable to convey power to another of his establishments a few hundred yards away.<sup>4</sup> And this in a period when the public plant was unable to supply sufficient power! The funds voted in 1906 proved inadequate for the work planned and on March 31, 1911, law 3745 provided additional money; further expenditure was authorized for the extension of service to the Cerro, Sayago, Peñarol, Colon, Maroñas, Ituzaingo and other populous centers in the Department of Montevideo; provision was made for an annual payment of \$50,000 to the Junta Economico-Administrativo de Montevideo; profits after service on the debt and 15 per cent for reserves were to be divided as follows: 30 per

TABLE II  
*Usina Electrica de Montevideo*  
Distribution of Gross Profits  
(in thousands of pesos)

	Total Gross Profits	Interest Payments	To Junta Ec-Adm. de Montevideo	Additions to Capital
March 1, 1905, to June 30, 1906 _____	153	—	6	147
1906-07 _____	143	3	31	108
1907-08 _____	143	35	50	57
1908-09 _____	166	75	59	31
1909-10 _____	241	85	4	152
1910-11 _____	557	80	50	427
1911-12 _____	725	84	96	545

cent to the Junta Economico-Administrativo of the capital and 70 per cent for the lowering of rates and extension of service.

Finally by law 4273 of October 21, 1912, the State assumed a monopoly of the supply of electric light and power throughout the country. Service was to be installed in all centers sufficiently important to merit it. When it was judged to be in the public interest the Administracion General de las Usinas Electricas del Estado

<sup>4</sup>Montevideo Times, December 4, 1908.

(as the new organization was named) might negotiate for existing plants and expropriate if necessary. The Usinas Electricas were to be free of all taxation, national and local; they were exempted from important duties. The Administracion General was to fix rates with the approval of the Executive; the Intendencias Municipales were to be notified in advance of rate changes. Ten per cent of the profits were to be set aside annually for a reserve fund until the fund totalled 25 per cent of capital. The remaining profits of plants in all departments except Montevideo were to be used to lower rates and extend service. The Junta Economico-Administrativo de la Capital was to receive \$250,000 in 1912-13 and \$340,000 in 1913-14 and thereafter; any profits remaining might be used to lower rates and extend service. A bond issue of \$4,500,000 was authorized for the retirement of old obligations, extensions, building of new plants, and purchase of existing plants. Administration was entrusted to the Administracion General consisting of a chairman and six members, all of whom must be of recognized ability in technical or administrative work.

The executive's message accompanying the project of law established the aims of the monopoly:

Lighting is a service whose benefits it is well to generalize by a decrease in price which will make it more available. . . . The direct assumption of these services by the State is in response to the finest motives: to diffuse an indispensable agent of well-being and comfort, to give to the more numerous and less favored classes a comfort which would otherwise be limited to a favored minority, to avoid the abuses which experience abroad and in our own country teaches us might arise from private operation in an industry where competition is not easy and where private enterprise might degenerate into monopolies that menace the public interest.

### *Profits*

It is clear from the debates in the legislature and from the views expressed by the executive that the principal ends sought were excellence and diffusion of service at prices which could never be hoped for from private enterprise. The possibility of accumulating large profits received little attention and yet it is the earnings record which has been used as the principal measure of the State's success in this industry. In the seventeen years from 1912-13 to 1928-29 the Usinas Electricas yielded gross profits of \$23,032,000. Out of this \$1,874,000 was taken for interest, amortization, etc. The annual payments to the Consejo

de Montevideo fixed by the organic law of 1912 totalled \$5,690,000; the amount agreed upon appears to have been fair to both the local authorities and the State on the basis of the value of existing installations, earnings record and prospects. Concerning the remainder of the profits, certain questions arise: Were adequate reserves set up for depreciation and obsolescence? Did the Usinas pay taxes and if not how much would such plants in the hands of private concerns have paid?

As to depreciation: the management, generally conservative, has always endeavored to keep the plant in first-class condition; during the period under consideration \$7,392,000 was written off for depreciation; in addition, a general reserve fund of \$1,779,000 was accumulated; the best local opinion is that the huge profits do not represent the results of improper treatment of depreciation.

As to taxation: the Usinas Electricas have paid no taxes; up to 1925 they were exempt from import duties not only on machinery and materials used in the production of electric energy but also on all other goods; in 1925 the legislature decided that to avoid unfair competition with private business the exemption should be limited to goods used in the exercise of the electricity monopoly. The writers find it impossible to estimate the probable contribution to the State of a similar private corporation. It should be noted, however, that exemption from import duties on machinery and equipment has been commonly granted to industrial concerns in Uruguay and that the original concessions to private firms in some cases specified freedom from taxes: the Montevideo Waterworks Company in its concession lasting from 1871 to 1891 was freed of taxation and in the renewal of the arrangements in 1891 that clause was continued although the original subvention was reduced; the Montevideo Gas Company, on the contrary, became liable for customs duties with the termination of its concession in 1887. The Usinas Electricas began to contribute to the State irregularly in 1916-17, and since 1922-23 at the rate of \$200,000 annually; the total paid from 1912-13 to 1928-29 was \$2,426,000. In view of the rising burden of taxation in Uruguay and the unfriendly attitude of the Government towards foreign capital this contribution may be somewhat less than the State would have received from private

corporations. Whatever that difference may be it is not of sufficient size to detract from the significance of the net profit.<sup>5</sup>

The accompanying tables indicate the financial progress of the Usinas under State control.

The taxpayer did not in this period benefit directly from the earnings of this enterprise because net profits were not thrown into the general revenues of the State. Instead, \$10,210,000 was ploughed back into capital. The State came into the possession of a very valuable property. But how did the consumer of electricity fare?

### *Rates and Service*

In 1915 the rates for electric lighting in Montevideo were said to be lower than those of any other city in South America with the exception of Rio de Janeiro where hydro-electric power was

TABLE III

*Usina de Montevideo*

*Operating Statement*

(in thousands of pesos)

	Revenue	Expenses	Gross Profits	Fixed Capital (end of period)	Depreciation
1912-13	1,602	667	935	3,370	128
1913-14	1,729	757	972	3,713	159
1914-15	1,697	787	911	3,801	167
1915-16	1,855	1,035	820	3,993	194
1916-17	1,955	1,015	982*	4,235	257
1917-18	2,263	1,767	496	4,535	231
1918-19	2,573	2,403	172	4,807	246
1919-20	3,243	1,974	1,268	5,706	292
1920-21	3,648	2,489	1,159	6,534	319
1921-22	3,741	2,587	1,153	7,279	367
1922-23	3,887	2,105	1,782	8,341	404
1923-24	4,191	2,512	1,679	9,117	472
1924-25	4,529	2,700	1,829	10,132	508
1925-26	4,965	2,823	2,142	7,960†	563
1926-27	5,270	2,805	2,465	8,304	592
1927-28	5,626	3,071	2,555	8,823	640
1928-29	6,037	3,047	3,034‡	9,730	691

\*42 from 1917-18.

†Including 44 interest.

‡3216 of capital written off.

<sup>5</sup>The profit-sharing item, amounting to \$1,049,000, is mentioned in a later section. Net profit as used here is arrived at by deducting interest, amortization, etc., payments to the Consejo de Montevideo and to the Poder Ejecutivo, profit sharing, and reserve.

being used.<sup>6</sup> In the period under examination no change was made in the rate for private electric light service in Montevideo and the charge for public lighting was raised from \$0.052 per kilowatt hour in 1911-12, the last year before the State took control, to \$0.093 in 1928-29. Meanwhile the cost per kilowatt hour of electricity produced was being lowered from \$0.0330 to \$0.0259 and the cost per kilowatt hours consumed from \$0.0391 to \$0.0306. The benefits of this decrease in costs accrued to the power consumer, whose rates fell from \$0.051 to \$0.036. The management encouraged the large-scale consumption from which derive economies in the production and distribution of electricity; the sale of electricity for private lighting grew from 7,177,337 kilowatt hours in 1912-13 to 23,059,067 in 1928-29, while the private power sale rose from 6,886,896 to 53,193,231; among the larger users of power were the Tranvias de Estado and the Compañia de Tranvias Electricos La Transatlantica. It is true, of course,

TABLE IV  
*Usinas del Interior*  
*Operating Statement*  
(in thousands of pesos)

	Revenue	Expenses	Gross Profits	Fixed Capital (end of period)	Depreciation
1912-13					
1913-14	19	33	-14*	191	6
1914-15	19	41	-21*	197	7
1915-16	31	66	-35*	248	11
1916-17	53	96	-39†	521	20
1917-18	116	183	-67	840	31
1918-19	231	328	-97	1,035	46
1919-20	Not reported		-187	1,051	51
1920-21	331	465	-133	1,136	55
1921-22	312	445	-133	1,244	60
1922-23	354	440	-86	1,553	68
1923-24	450	522	-72	1,897	80
1924-25	552	657	-106	2,193	102
1925-26	628	764	-136	1,950‡	112
1926-27	788	916	-128	2,148	138
1927-28	871	957	-86	2,666	170
1928-29	940	992	-52	3,211	205

\*Included with Montevideo.

†3 from 1917-18.

‡523 of capital written off.

<sup>6</sup>Trabajos de la Delegación Uruguaya en la Conferencia Financiera Pan-americana (Montevideo 1915) p. 53.



TABLE V

*Usinas Electricas del Estado*  
*Distribution of Gross Profits*  
 (in thousands of pesos)

	Gross Profits			Distribution					
	Monte- video	Interior	Total	Interest amortiza- tion, etc.	To Concejo de Monte- video	To State	Reserve Fund	Increase in Capital	Profit Sharing
1912-13	935	—	935	83	250	—	85	516	—
1913-14	972	—	972	83	340	—	89	460	—
1914-15	911	—	911	106	340	—	80	384	—
1915-16	820	—	820	84	340	—	74	322	—
1916-17	982	—39	943	103	340	416	84	—	—
1917-18	496	—67	429	101	340	—	—12	—	—
1918-19	172	—97	74	83	340	—	—349	—	—
1919-20	1,268	—187	1,082	273	340	373	96	—	—
1920-21	1,159	—133	1,025	143	340	237	94	212	—
1921-22	1,153	—133	1,021	298	340	—	90	293	—
1922-23	1,782	—86	1,695	265	340	200	160	729	—
1923-24	1,679	—72	1,607	82	340	200	154	831	—
1924-25	1,829	—106	1,723	63	340	200	166	840	113
1925-26	2,142	—136	2,006	56	340	200	195	1,034	181
1926-27	2,465	—128	2,338	32	340	200	231	1,328	207
1927-28	2,555	—86	2,469	12	340	200	246	1,405	266
1928-29	3,034	—52	2,982	7	340	200	298	1,856	282

that the whole community may ultimately benefit from the lowering of the costs to industrial users, but the gain is a very indirect one. The ordinary consumer was offered special rates for cooking (\$0.02) after 1916-17 and for domestic service (\$0.03) after 1917-18; he was offered a wide choice of electrical appliances in a shop opened by the Usinas Electricas in 1917; but his light bills were not reduced by State-ownership.

From the interior complaints as to rates have been loud and persistent. It will be remembered that one of the reasons advanced to justify the monopoly was that it would enable the extension of service to districts that would otherwise be without electricity. The question became one of policy to be decided by the Administracion General. The interior towns are small, their industrial development is slight; installations for the supply of electric light and power involve considerable sums of fixed capital. The Administracion General had no standard by which to judge when the probable loss from an electric plant exceeded the benefits which the organic law aimed to diffuse. Its policy has been conservative—not so conservative as to avoid all losses but sufficiently careful to result in laying itself open to charges that it has



failed to keep faith with the promises of the law-makers, that it has retarded the development of the interior cities, that it has looked too much to its annual commercial balances and inadequately to the long-run effects.

Thirty-one communities in the interior were being served with electricity in 1928-29; seven of them had had private service before the State took over the plants, while the remainder represented new installations. The number of consumers had risen to 23,772 by 1928-29 compared with 134,698 in Montevideo; the number of kilowatt hours consumed was 6,401,525 compared with 99,014,322 in Montevideo, indicating a much smaller average consumption. In no year has the group of interior plants paid its own way; the total loss has been \$1,322,000, which compares with gross profits of \$24,349,000 in Montevideo. This in spite of the fact that excessive prices have not been paid for private plants taken over and the installations in towns not already enjoying electric lighting have been made by the same efficient organization that produced large profits in Montevideo. And further, in spite of the fact that rates have been very high: rates for private lighting service ranged from \$0.15 to \$0.34292 in 1921-22 and from \$0.1458 to \$0.30 in 1928-29; rates for public lighting from \$0.07266 to \$0.16489 in 1921-22 and from \$0.07734 to \$0.21477 in 1928-29; rates for power from \$0.06 to \$0.20764 in 1921-22 and from \$0.04656 to \$0.24824 in 1928-29. Already these rates check the consumption of electricity; to raise them in the hope of eliminating losses would be to curtail radically consumption in many of the towns.

Thus the management has constantly been under pressure to lower rates. In the *Camara de Representantes* in 1927, for instance, it was argued that a rate for lighting uniform the country over should be established; that if the rate current in Montevideo (\$0.12) were adopted it would increase the losses in the interior by only \$140,000 annually, while consumption of electricity would increase enormously; that bureaucratic Montevideo, living as it does off the rest of the country, could well afford to cover this loss from the revenue of the Montevideo plant.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>7</sup>*Diario de Sesions de la H. Camara de Representantes*, Vol. 336, 1927, p. 329.

Further conflict with local authorities has arisen from the State's power to expropriate; many of the municipalities stood to gain by clauses in concessions granted to private companies whereby special rates were allowed for public lighting or whereby

TABLE VI  
*Usina de Montevideo*

	Number of Subscribers	Kilowatt Hours		Cost per K.W.H.		Price per K.W.H.		
		Produced (1000)	Consumed (1000)	Produced	Consumed	Lighting		Power
						Private	Public	
1889	148							
1891	196							
1896	440	585						
1901	1,168	2,223						
1905-06	3,029	3,287		\$0.0628	\$0.0763	\$0.207	\$0.079	
1910-11	12,664	12,266	10,095	0.0390	0.0474	0.120	0.077	\$0.070
1911-12	16,437	16,281	13,744	0.0330	0.0391	0.120	0.052	0.051
1912-13	20,920	23,200	19,871	0.0288	0.0336	0.120	0.052	0.038
1915-16	29,203	29,028	24,553	0.0357	0.0422	0.120	0.063	0.034
1920-21	52,939	61,090	51,404	0.0407	0.0486	0.120	0.079	0.044
1925-26	94,965	83,296	71,552	0.0339	0.0396	0.132	0.094	0.040
1928-29	134,698	117,600	99,415	0.0259	0.0306	0.120	0.093	0.036

the plant was to pass to the municipality after a certain interval at advantageous terms. In the legislature in 1924 the case of Soriano was discussed; by the concession approved in January 4, 1909, Soriano had reserved the right to expropriate the plant supplying Mercedes after ten years at value of installations plus 20 per cent; the State, however, had taken over the plant, disregarding what Soriano considered to be a valuable purchase privilege. The matter was further complicated by the fact that Soriano had paid \$13,954 annually for public lighting until the State took control and raised the charge to \$29,316.<sup>s</sup>

A third type of complaint concerns the State's failure to provide any service for some towns; motions urging the Administration General to supply certain towns as yet untouched by electricity were made frequently in the legislature; the minority party even proposed a radical remedy for the problem when in 1923 it introduced a bill permitting local governments to grant temporary

<sup>s</sup>Diario de Sesiones de la H. Camara de Representantes, Vol. 319, 1924, p. 459.

concessions to private companies in towns which the State was not yet supplying. Even in Montevideo the conservatism of the management worked against rapid expansion of plant and probably curtailed the use of electricity for power.

It may be that the rapid expansion of a private stock company or of a State enterprise which aimed to keep capacity well in advance of demand and based on speculative anticipation of growth in the country's needs would have involved serious dangers of over-extension. It may well be that the Administracion General acted wisely in its selection of a slow pace; after all, the State's resources ultimately are behind the loans of the Usinas Electricas and a lack of caution in expansion is all too common and too dangerous when enterprises are given such broad financial support. It may be that a private company would have been willing to take losses on interior business as a sop to public opinion and that the State, given a monopoly, was too little concerned with public opinion. It may be that private enterprise would have been similarly wary of reducing its profits in the capital by establishing service in towns that could not for a long time to come, if ever, support such an investment. The point in issue, however, is that the purpose of the monopoly was not the accumulation of maximum commercial balances. If the enterprise is to be judged, as the original sponsors of the monopoly would have wished it judged, by the rapidity with which it has spread facilities for electricity throughout the country and by the increase in consumption encouraged by a lowering of the rates, its record is less impressive.

### *Labor*

Nor is there reason to believe that labor has fared especially well at the hands of the State enterprise. The first budget of the Usinas Electricas presented to the legislature provided for a general increase in wages; it was argued that cost of living was rising, that the wage scale of the Usinas was below that of a similar industry in Buenos Aires and below those of other public utilities in Montevideo, that the business was yielding large profits and could afford to pay better wages. There is no index of wages in the Usinas Electricas for the whole period, but the only available

comparison of wages in private and State-owned industries does not reveal any marked difference.<sup>9</sup>

The Administracion General successfully opposed efforts to weaken its power to dismiss employees; there is always a possibility that a State industry may lose the flexibility possessed by private concerns by lack of power or hesitation in using the power to dismiss employees—especially where as in Uruguay the government employees form a major political force. Law 5632 of January 19, 1918, provided that the directorate should hire and dismiss employees and that dismissal should require the approval of five members of the Board.

TABLE VII  
*Usina de Montevideo*

	Amount Paid in Wages (\$1000)	Number Employed (at end of period)
1916-17	418	667
1917-18	449	943
1919-20	737	1,033
1920-21	870	1,014
1924-25	1,000	1,474
1925-26	1,408	—
1926-27	1,569	—
1927-28	1,554	—
1928-29	1,726	2,579

By 1929 the legislature had passed a number of progressive labor measures: the accident prevention law of 1914; the workmen's compensation law of November 26, 1920, whereby insurance of employees in the State Insurance Bank was made compulsory for State industries; the eight hour day law of November 17, 1915, rushed through the legislature in the hope of winning labor support for the collegiate executive plan; the compulsory

<sup>9</sup>The index published by the Ministerio de Industrias lists wages in private industry, state railways, state tramways, on the base 1914 = 100, as follows:

*Ministeria de Industrias, El Salario Real*

*Wages in:*

	Private Industry	State Railways	State Tramways
1918	115	100	111
1921	146	173	130
1924	160	173	162
1926	160	173	162

(Uruguay: Ministerio de Industrias, *El Salario Real* (1914-1926). Montevideo 1927.)



weekly rest law of December 10, 1920, the old age pension law of February 11, 1919; the retirement and pension laws of October 6, 1919, and February 4, 1925; and several others. The pertinent observations concerning this legislation are that the State industry's acceptance of these measures was no more enthusiastic than that of private firms, that its enforcement of the provisions was no more thorough than that of private firms, and that the State in unfolding its plans for a laborers' Utopia has preferred to start with private industry. Thus the privately owned utilities were burdened by a retirement pension measure in 1919 while the provisions were not extended to State employees until 1925; again, before the State accepted the minimum wage principle for its own employees it enacted such a measure for rural workers (1923) and required contractors bidding for government contracts to pay minimum wages (1927).

One of the unfortunate concomitants of a policy of holding rates up and showing large profits is that the earnings become a target for various interests. As far back as 1913 Señor Frugoni, a Socialist representative, had proposed sharing of profits among employees. As the record of the Usinas Electricas improved talk of profit-sharing increased. Late in 1918 the Executive proposed to Congress that 25 per cent of the annual profits of State industries be distributed among employees. In 1924 the Usinas Electricas adopted a policy of awarding bonuses to its employees; in the five years from 1924-25 to 1928-29 it distributed \$1,049,000 of its profits in this manner. Where the Government has difficulty in meeting expense, where, as the Uruguayan policy was once described by the Montevideo Times, "retrenchment is interpreted to mean not the cutting down of actual expenses but the mere desisting from proposed new expenditures not yet voted," the Government itself may be unable to resist dipping into the funds of the prosperous industry or taxing it to cover certain specified expenses. The danger was ever-present, but up to 1929 the Usinas Electricas had not been troubled by such interference.

#### *Administration*

The Usinas Electricas were fortunate in their organization and administration. The original Uruguayan constitution of 1830 had not inclined toward the creation of autonomous State corporations, but the experiences of the late nineties and the first decade of the twentieth century demonstrated the need of flexible independent

administration. Article 100 of the constitution of 1917 provided that the State industrial domain should be administered by autonomous boards, the members of which were to be chosen by the Consejo Nacional which was given also powers of removing members with the consent of the Senate and of supervising the rendering of accounts. In actual practice the Government had anticipated the constitutional change.

Experience has shown that administrative efficiency is promoted by freedom of the managing board from direction by legislative or other outside authority; the purposes which the board is intended to achieve can be listed in the organic law and within these broad outlines the board can lay down its policy and carrying it out without waiting for the suggestions of political leaders motivated by political exigencies. The price of administrative efficiency obtained in this way is a weakening of democratic control and possibly a tendency to conservatism in management. Where responsibility is clearly reposed in the managing board it is likely to proceed cautiously as it did in Uruguay. Where the possibility of direct interference by the legislature has been minimized the board may emphasize its earnings record rather than dedicate itself to satisfying the demands of each legislator.

The organic law of the Usinas Electricas was a good one. Nominees for the directing board must have demonstrated their capacity for technical or administrative work; it is true that in the existing situation where the Executive and the Senate comprised a single political faction the responsibility for selecting competent men might have been evaded; there was also the danger that the Executive might use his appointment power as a political weapon. On the whole, however, the members of the board have been well chosen. The Administracion General was prohibited from contracting loans of over \$100,000 without the authorization of the Executive; since the State was always liable for debt service the failure to limit the amount that might be approved by the Executive was questionable. The Executive's power in budget-making was increased by the law of 1918 which required the board to submit the salary schedules to the Executive for approval; the law of 1912 had charged the Administracion General with making out its own budget and submitting it for approval through the Executive to the legislature.

*Conclusions*

There are no data for comparison of the industrial efficiency of the Usinas Electricas with similar privately-owned plants in Uruguay. Financially in the period up to 1929 the venture was a success; net profits were large compared with investment and compared with the usual yield on public utility investments in Uruguay. However, there are indications that the monopoly privilege was used as a private concern might have exercised a monopoly—to maximize profits rather than to improve service and lower rates. Excessive legislative interference was avoided, reckless extravagance in expansion was not indulged in, treatment of labor was not over-considerate, management was not easily swayed by complaints and appeals of politically important groups and did not adjust its policies to vote-getting activities. The management adopted profit—the best gauge of private industry's success—as the measure of its effectiveness. There is reason to believe that the social and economic advantages originally anticipated from the monopoly were not realized in as large a measure as was possible.

## GOVERNMENT ACTIVITY AND ECONOMIC SECURITY\*

BY ARTHUR B. ADAMS

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There are two quite different views as to the kind of personal economic security the Government should give to each individual. The first view is that the Government should provide at least a subsistence income to those who are unable to secure one from private employment either because of inability to find employment or because of temporary or permanent unemployability. Such an income is to be provided in the form of unemployment insurance or doles, sickness insurance or benefits, old age insurance or pensions, and mothers, and widows' pensions. The second view is that the Government through economic reforms should create opportunities for each employable individual to earn his or her own living through jobs and occupations in private industry at fair compensation for the services rendered. Such opportunities are to be provided for each as a result of government control and regulation of the operation of our industrial system in such a manner as (1) to eliminate special privileges to the few, (2) to secure a less unequal distribution of the national income, and (3) to give the masses of people a chance to secure jobs and to engage in profitable occupations.

These two views of how the Government should bring about personal economic security to its citizens are not in entire conflict with each other, though the first view represents a school of political and economic thought very different from the school of thought represented by the second.

The concept that the Government should guarantee economic security to its citizens through government doles and social insurance may be called the professional social workers' view of how to give economic security to all citizens. Such a program of economic security is based on the assumption that many individuals inevitably will find themselves without private incomes or other means of support either because of their own faults (inefficiency and thriftlessness) or because of economic forces over which neither they nor society have any control. The only way

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to attain individual security against such unfortunate but unavoidable happenings is to provide doles and insurance payments for those who become the victims, so the advocates of social insurance claim. In other words, the advocates of the social insurance personal security program argue that it is inevitable the nation will have a large number of individuals and families with little or no savings whose suffering, as a result of unavoidable unemployment, sickness, old age, and death, can be prevented only by providing public doles and social insurance payments for them when these hazards occur. They appear to accept low incomes, poverty and unemployment as inevitable and unavoidable, just as they accept sickness, old age and death as inevitable and unavoidable.

Those who advocate that economic security for the individual should be attained by the Government creating greater economic opportunities for the ordinary citizen through reforming and regulating the operation of our industrial system deny that low incomes, poverty and unemployment are unavoidable. They claim that if our industrial system operated continuously at full capacity with jobs for all and with a fair and equitable distribution of the proceeds of production, all the unemployment of employables and most of the very low incomes and dire poverty would be eliminated. It is believed by them that constant jobs and occupations at fair compensation for all employable people is the very best economic security the Government can give its citizens against the unavoidable hazards of sickness, old age, and death of family bread-winners. They hold that if such economic opportunities are accorded to all citizens, only a very few of them would fail to make adequate personal provisions against the unavoidable personal hazards of sickness, old age, and death. Moreover, they believe that it is not only possible for the Government to control and direct the operation of the industrial system in a manner to produce these desirable results, but that it is the supreme duty of the Government to put such a policy into operation immediately.

The advocates of greater individual economic security through economic and industrial reforms do not oppose necessarily all government doles and social insurance plans. Most of them insist that it is the duty of the Government to furnish all individuals and families an income if it does not furnish them an opportunity to work and earn incomes for themselves. They agree that because of the great inequality of the division of the national income

during the past few decades, and because of the great amount of unemployment during the past fifteen years, many individuals and families have been and are unable to provide against unemployment, sickness, old age and death; for these reasons they believe the Government should furnish such unfortunates funds for sustenance. But they consider such a personal security policy as a temporary and somewhat degrading substitute for a permanent, sound and uplifting personal security policy based on economic opportunities, self-help and self-reliance. After adequate economic opportunities are given to all citizens, they would apply the dole and compulsory social insurance plans only to the small number of unfortunate or inefficient and thriftless individuals who could not, or would not, take advantage of the opportunities to earn and save so as to provide for themselves in cases of sickness, old age, and death.

The proponents of doles and social insurance as the one and only means of giving economic security to the individual citizen accept the glaring defects in the operation of our industrial system as natural and beyond the control of men or governments. They accept the *laissez faire* governmental policy toward business and industry, and oppose any effort on the part of the Government to redistribute economic opportunities, employment, wealth, and income. They would preserve the special privileges of the few, the present great unemployment, and the concentration of wealth and incomes in the hands of the few on the grounds that these characteristics of our industrial system are natural and inevitable. These bad conditions are natural in the sense that they were brought about by the natural characteristics of men; but this does not mean that they are beyond the control of society. Society created these conditions by permitting men to act in certain ways to the detriment of the public; society can change them by prohibiting men from acting in such ways as to injure public welfare. In short, the advocates of social insurance as the sole means of giving economic security to the individual are apologists for the rottenness in our industrial system as it now operates. They, and the other opponents of economic reforms, are the real destroyers of self-reliance and rugged individualism because they refuse to accord economic opportunities to all and thereby perpetuate pauperism.

The President's Social Insurance Security Bill now before Congress is not bad necessarily unless it is taken as a substitute for

real economic security through the creation of economic opportunities. But, it is feared that many individuals will accept the Bill as giving genuine economic security to the individual; therein the danger of the Bill lies. Certainly, under present industrial conditions the jobless and the poor widows and poverty-stricken aged need doles, pensions, and insurance payments to support them. Also, many people will remain in such unfortunate circumstances until real economic opportunities through economic reforms are created for all the people. Until those reforms are made effective, many unfortunate individuals must be cared for through some kind of public payments, otherwise they will starve to death. But such payments are a poor substitute for real economic security based on opportunity for self-help. Therefore, as a temporary substitute for real economic security the President's Social Insurance Bill may be accepted, provided it can be made effective pending real economic reforms. The chief objection to the present Bill, as a temporary measure, is that for several years few of its provisions will become really effective to aid the people who need aid now.

When Mr. Roosevelt as a presidential candidate in 1932 announced that he was for a New Deal in the industrial and business world, he stirred the imagination and aroused the ambitions of the masses of the American people. They were convinced that we needed many basic changes in our business and industrial practices to make our industrial system operate continuously and to prevent the rapid concentration of a large part of the national wealth and income in the hands of a few people. When he announced that he was for the "forgotten man" they thought he was talking about the great mass of people who have little or no property or incomes and many of whom practically had become industrial slaves to the few who control the great industrial enterprises. There was a widespread feeling that the nation in its trying times had found a real leader who would restore the economic opportunities lost by the masses of people, and who would establish social and economic justice in our industrial and economic system.

The unfolding of this promised New Deal Program as it has been enacted into legislation and governmental administration has been a sad disappointment to many, and apparently has pleased only a few. It is claimed by the President that his program contains three necessary and inseparable parts: (1) Relief, (2) Recovery, and (3) Reform. Thus far he has been successful

in giving relief to the unemployed from the public treasury. I believe that such relief was necessary as a temporary measure pending recovery and reform. Also, many of the hard-pressed debtors have been given relief through the refinancing of debts, which also was necessary but which has not gone far enough. Partly as a result of the operation of natural economic forces, and partly as a result of the AAA, PWA, and the FERA, there has been some temporary business recovery. But there have been no comprehensive fundamental reforms in business and industrial practices to eliminate special economic privileges and opportunities and to correct the maldistribution of the wealth and income of the nation.

Of course, there have been a few so-called reform measures passed, such as the Securities and the Stock Exchange Acts, which were designated primarily to prevent the big rich from stealing from the less rich. Thus far, the only measure of the Roosevelt New Deal Program which might have been used to accomplish a fundamental reform in the operation of our industrial system was the NIRA. But in its application and administration under the NRA, the Act has been used largely to increase the monopolistic control of industry by the big industrialists so they may be able to garner profits even in time of dire national distress by controlling prices and limiting production. It might have been used to shorten work hours of laborers, and to increase real wages and thus increase the proportion of the net production of industry received by laborers, but after the date of the President's re-employment agreement it was not so used. The Act was drawn in such a manner that the President had ample power to use it to reduce hours and raise wages by amending the permanent codes, but he did not see fit to do so.

The fact is that the Roosevelt Administration has not only forgotten the forgotten man, but economically and industrially it has tended to look backward rather than forward. Great effort is put forward by the Administration to reestablish conditions similar to those prevailing before the depression in 1929, and thus bring about recovery. Much stress is placed on reviving the capital and heavy goods industries and producing a building boom similar to that of the twenties. The fact is that the capital and heavy goods industries were much over-expanded in the twenties in relation to the demand for consumers' goods, and we built more new buildings than could be rented.



We, as a nation, if we could, should not go back to the pre-depression industrial conditions. A revival of business on that basis could not result in permanent prosperity. Business revival brought about by any means which do not include fundamental reforms in the broadening of economic opportunities, the elimination of monopolies, and a redistribution of the national income cannot be permanent. The mass of consumers must receive a large enough share of the current national income to enable them to purchase the consumers' goods produced or our industrial system cannot operate continuously. Without such reforms recovery would be of little or no avail.

In my opinion, under modern industrial conditions, the unemployment problem can be cured only by a reduction in the weekly hours of laborers sufficient to give a job to every able-bodied citizen who wants to work. Even in the height of prosperity in the twenties the country had an unemployment problem due to the wide use of automatic machinery. As already indicated, another fundamental reform in our economic system which will be necessary before we can ever have stable business conditions is to increase the proportion of the national money income (which is derived from national production) which goes to wage earners and other small income receivers, and to decrease the proportion of it which goes to large property owners and income receivers to be used for reinvestment. Only by so redistributing the national money income will the nation be able to increase the purchasing power of consumers enough to enable them to purchase the consumption goods which can be produced by industry. The New Deal has failed to accomplish these two fundamental reforms in the operation of our industrial system.

The American people want economic security, and they demand it now. Most of them demand the kind of economic security which comes from an opportunity to work and to receive full compensation for their part in the production of the national income; they will accept the kind of security which comes from doles and pensions from the public treasury only in cases of necessity. The mass of people want economic independence which comes from their own efforts; the greatest security which can be given them is the opportunity to earn a good living. We must preserve rugged individualism by doing away with special privileges and dividing economic opportunities among our people;

there is no other method by which self-reliance and rugged individualism can be preserved.

In addition to passing effective Federal legislation which actually will bring about a decrease in the weekly hours of labor of workers in all factories and shops sufficient to absorb all the unemployed laborers who are able to work, the following legislation should be passed:

1. Give a Federal Labor Commission power to adjust the wage scales in all industrial plants in the big industries in accordance with the change in the margin of profits in the various industries.

2. Pass a rigid excess profits tax, and take all excess profits out of industrial prosperity.

3. Pass an inheritance, gift, and succession tax which will break up the large fortunes. No one should be allowed to give or leave more than one million dollars to any one other individual. Use the proceeds from this tax to pay the national debt, and to pay for the necessary old age pensions, and other social insurance paid out of the public treasury.

4. Amend the income tax so as to take as taxes a very much larger proportion of the large personal incomes.

5. Provide for Federal Incorporation of all business enterprises doing an interstate business, and abolish all industrial and commercial holding companies. I am unable to see why it is not as desirable to abolish industrial holding companies as it is to abolish utility holding companies as advocated by the President.

6. Strengthen the anti-trust laws and prohibit the making or carrying out of any private agreements or understandings in reference to the volume of production or prices.

With the passage and enforcement of such Federal legislation the nation would have a New Square Deal, not just a Roosevelt "Deal" which thus far is new merely in name, and which in large measure is only an effort to force the playing of the Old Deal from "stacked" cards.

If the nation is to chart a course which will result in the preservation of the capitalist system and the private property institution, it must ignore the Johnsons, the Hoovers, the Longs, and their kind. On the one hand, it is not possible to preserve large profits and the concentration of wealth which is desired by the super-conservative group represented by Herbert Hoover and

Hugh Johnson, and at the same time reestablish a balanced economic system under private property ownership. On the other hand, neither is it possible to establish such an economic balance by distributing the nation's property promiscuously among Tom, Dick, and Harry as advocated by Huey Long. We must pursue a middle course and share the income and the opportunities to work with those who are willing to work. This can be done only by reducing the hours of labor, and by readjusting the distribution of the national money income among those who produce it. We must have a publicly controlled economic system or we shall have a socially owned and operated one.

## FEDERAL REGULATION OF CHILD LABOR BY TREATY

BY EMERSON P. SCHMIDT

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Three times the Federal Government has tried to abolish child labor, and three times it has failed. Now the N.R.A. codes offer a fourth method, but they too seem doomed to failure. Will child labor ever be abolished in the United States? This is a question of paramount economic and social importance. The state and federal methods whereby elimination might be brought about seem exhausted; but there is still one more method, as yet untried, which may eliminate in a brief period that which the several states and Congress have tried to eliminate in 100 years—the treaty-making power of the Federal Government.

### I

State child labor laws vary widely both in coverage and in effectiveness of enforcement. Employers and many parents have looked askance at this kind of interference with the freedom of contract and property rights. Those who wish to utilize child labor, as a rule, admit the evils of employing young persons but claim that, since other states are relatively indifferent to the matter, the competitive nature of business thereby forces similar low standards of juvenile protection on themselves.

The United States Census tells nothing about the employment of children below ten years of age. Yet it is a matter of common knowledge that a goodly number of children of these lower ages work for pay. Of children between 10 and 13 years of age, about 2.5 per cent were admitted to be at work when the 1930 Census was taken in the early spring of the year, at a time when most children were still at school. Consequently the figures probably understate the facts. In South Carolina, Alabama, and Mississippi over 10 per cent of these children were gainfully employed. In thirteen states over 10 per cent of the children 14 and 15 years of age were at work, and in two of these states the proportion ran as high as 32 per cent.

Among the several states the minimum age for gainful employment varies from 14 to 16 with widely different exemptions applying to specific industries—agriculture, street trades and the like, with further exemptions applying to special cases of need or other



circumstances. The daily hours range from 8 to 10 $\frac{1}{4}$ , while the weekly hours vary from 44 to 60. Some states prohibit night work between 10:00 P.M. and 5:00 A.M., while others, more strict, prohibit child labor between 6:00 P.M. and 6:30 A.M. Similarly, there are wide variations in regard to physical examination requirements, employment in hazardous industries and compulsory school attendance. In South Carolina, for example, where no physical examination is required, a boy who had just reached his fourteenth birthday recently secured a job in a factory as a learner at \$3 a week. No examination of his health was made. Several weeks later he caught a cold which he failed to throw off. Before long he had to quit his job and after some weeks of idleness and failure to regain health, his case was called to the attention of a physician. The physician quickly discovered that the boy had an advanced case of tuberculosis. If this boy had lived in New York, he might still be alive, for he would have been subjected to a thorough physical examination before entering employment.

Two-thirds of the other states have met this problem. Ohio, for example, requires a physical examination up to age 18; but 13 states have no health or physical examination requirements whatsoever. Of equal importance with the character of the laws is their enforcement. It is common knowledge that many state labor laws are poorly enforced and that in those states which have been backward in eliminating child labor there exists considerable indifference to whatever laws are on the books. An unenforced law is little more effective than no law at all. In June, 1934, seven states, recognizing this ineffectiveness of state regulation of labor and the interstate competition of low standards, entered into an interstate compact whereby they agreed, among other matters, on certain uniform minimum standards for children in industry. (See *New York Times*, June 10, 1934.)

## II

Nearly every protagonist of the National Recovery Administration is fond of saying, "Even if the balance of the N.R.A. is a failure, the single achievement of abolishing child labor under the codes is worth all the costs." This worthy sentiment is not to be depreciated, but what will be the future of child labor if the codes are dropped or the N.R.A. is declared unconstitutional? Already the Federal Government has relinquished the idea of imposing

codes on several service industries. True, certain principles of the codes, including the child labor provisions, are to be retained. But how much attention the Administration will pay to these industries from now on is an open question. Well informed opinion is taking the view that this retrenchment is perhaps the beginning of still further curtailment all along the line. It is significant, furthermore, that in spite of the fact that all the codes are supposed to abolish child labor, seven states should see fit, one year after the N.R.A. went into effect, to enter into a compact whereby they agree to outlaw child labor. Finally, there is a possibility that the major portion of the N.R.A. will be declared unconstitutional, although constitutional lawyers are divided about equally on this question.

If these pessimistic fears prove correct, what will happen to child labor? In addition to these N.R.A. codes, Congress has made three unsuccessful attempts to solve the problem. The constitution gives Congress authority to control interstate commerce. Pursuant to this power, Congress, in 1916, passed a law prohibiting the movement in interstate commerce of commodities manufactured in whole or in part by children of certain ages. Two years later the United States Supreme Court held that the regulation of child labor was within the jurisdiction of the states and not of Congress, and so declared the act unconstitutional. Although in earlier cases this Court placed its stamp of approval on laws closing the channels of interstate commerce to impure foods, the white slave traffic, lottery tickets, and intoxicating liquors, the products of child labor were declared not harmful *per se* and, therefore, Congress, it was held, could not encroach on the jurisdiction of state authority. Spoiled or impure foods, lottery tickets, etc., were harmful in themselves and, consequently, Congress was quite within its authority when it forbade interstate commerce to persons who might transport products which would injure the citizenry. The court was forced to this conclusion even though it recognized that the elimination from employment of young persons was highly desirable.

### III

Undismayed by this setback, Congress proceeded in 1919 to place a 10 per cent tax on the entire net income of firms employing children of certain ages. The constitution grants to Congress taxing power. Pursuant to this power, Congress has placed

taxes on liquors, beer, tobacco, automobiles, oleomargarine, opium, incomes, corporations, the list could be extended indefinitely. Constitutional lawyers who advised the legislators felt that a tax on the earnings of companies employing children would stand the test of constitutionality. The Supreme Court, however, thought otherwise, chiefly, perhaps, because the law establishing the child labor tax was badly drafted and on its face showed clearly that it was not an attempt to raise revenue but to invade a field of regulation hitherto restricted to the states. Revenue raising laws are ordinarily administered by the Treasury Department, yet, for instance, this law placed a part of the responsibility for enforcement on the Department of Labor. Furthermore, any employer who unknowingly violated the law by employing children of the forbidden ages was not to pay the tax; yet typically, citizens are liable to pay a tax whether they know of it or not. Thus, if you buy a motor car not knowing that the Federal Government has placed a sales tax on all new cars, you still must pay the tax. Again the court pointed out that the reduction of child labor may be a wholly commendable motive, yet *on the face of it*, this measure was not passed under the congressional taxing power but was an insidious attempt to do by means of the taxing power what Congress could not do directly.

The Court was at pains to emphasize that under the taxing power Congress may place a tax on an article even though the secondary motive of the tax may be the suppression of the thing taxed, while the primary motive of the tax, on the surface, appears to be raising revenue. Thus, high taxes on state bank notes were upheld even though the Court must have been aware that the congressional motive was to make the path clear for national bank notes. Similarly, taxes on oleomargarine, opium, and narcotics were upheld by the Court. But in each of these cases the taxation law *on its face* did not show that it was a neat trick to achieve a forbidden but desired social or economic end. As a consequence, this second congressional attempt to solve the child labor problem on a national scale was short-lived.

#### IV

Still hopeful of a solution, Congress turned to what it regarded as the only alternative, namely, an amendment to the Constitution. In 1924 Congress proposed the Twentieth Amendment, which would empower the national government to regulate child labor.

This amendment was submitted to the states for ratification. In the first nine years only six states ratified it. The fear of further centralization of governmental authority and the opposition of manufacturers prevented any further ratification. Then in 1933, when confidence in banks, commerce, and industry was gone, the fear of federal supremacy seemed to wane for a moment and 14 states in rapid succession ratified the amendment. The foes of child labor began to rejoice. However, with the return of mild recovery, sentiment shifted almost over night. Consequently, in 1934, no states had ratified the amendment and in the first five months eight states' legislatures, where the amendment was up for consideration, refused to ratify it. Thus, this would appear, for the time being at least, as another unsuccessful method of controlling child labor.

## V

If Congress remains favorably disposed towards the eradication of child labor there is still one further method open to it which heretofore has been ignored. This is the treaty-making power of the Federal Government.

It is a settled rule of constitutional law, frequently repeated by the Supreme Court, that the regulation of matters left exclusively to the states by the Constitution may be transferred in some cases to Congress pursuant to a treaty with a foreign nation.

Thus, in spite of the fact that the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution provides that every state must give the equal protection of its laws to all its inhabitants, a state may discriminate against unnaturalized aliens within its jurisdiction. (See *Patsone v. Pennsylvania*, 232 U.S. 138, 1914.) The City of Cincinnati was permitted by the Supreme Court of the United States to refuse the application for a license by an Italian to operate a pool hall. (See *Clarke v. Deckebach*, 274 U.S. 392, 1927.) On the contrary, an ordinance of Seattle providing that no license to run a pawnshop should be granted to an alien was set aside by the Supreme Court on the ground that it conflicted with a treaty between the country of the alien in question and the United States. (*Askura v. Seattle*, 265 U.S. 332, 1924.) The alien was a Japanese. The United States had entered into a treaty with Japan whereby Japanese residing in the United States were guaranteed the same privileges and rights in matters of trade as American natives.



Again, an act of Congress passed in 1913 that attempted to regulate the killing of migratory birds within the states was held invalid in two decisions because it invaded a field reserved exclusively to the states. (See *United States v. Shauver*, 214 Fed. Rep. 154, 1914; *United States v. McCullagh*, 221 Fed. Rep. 288, 1915.) To overcome these decisions the United States entered into a treaty with Great Britain whereby the high contracting parties agreed to take steps to preserve migratory birds. Pursuant to the treaty Congress in 1918 passed an act prohibiting the killing of any of the birds included in the treaty, except in accordance with regulation fixed by the Secretary of Agriculture. In *Missouri v. Holland* (252 U.S. 416, 1920) the Supreme Court squarely faced the question whether "the treaty and statute are void as an interference with the rights reserved to the states" (p. 432). The court in upholding the statute pointed out that congressional statutes are the supreme law of the land only when made in pursuance of the Constitution, while "treaties are declared to be so when made under authority of the United States." The Court went on to say, "There may be matters of the sharpest exigency for the national well-being that an act of Congress could not deal with, but that a treaty followed by such an act could."

One of the most complete rights of the states is that of settling the ownership of property, but this right has been declared to be subordinate to treaty arrangements (*Geofroy v. Riggs*, 133 U.S. 258, 1890). In this case the Court stated that "It would not be contended that it (the treaty power) extends so far as to authorize what the Constitution forbids, or a change in the character of the government or in that of one of the states or a cession of any portion of the territory of the latter without its consent. But with these exceptions, it is not perceived that there is any limit to the questions which can be adjusted touching any matter which is properly the subject of negotiation with a foreign country." In *U. S. v. 43 Gallons of Whiskey* (93 U.S. 188, 1876) the court said, "It cannot be doubted that the treaty-making power is ample to cover all usual subjects of diplomacy."

While these cases are not all comparable, they do point strongly to the conclusion that state and federal statutes which are unconstitutional in the absence of treaties may be made constitutional in pursuance of treaties, and *vice versa*. From these few cases, and many others which could be cited, it may be concluded that the national government by treaty may deal with any matter

which is "an appropriate subject of international agreement," as long as it does not contravene an express prohibition in the Constitution. Such a treaty and the legislation in pursuance of it are the supreme law of the land, even though they may deal with matters which are ordinarily reserved to the states and to which the powers of Congress do not ordinarily extend.

These conclusions may not unqualifiedly affirm the constitutionality of a federal child labor law passed in response to an international treaty dealing with the same subject. If it can be shown, however, that child labor is "a proper (legally speaking) subject for international agreement" then undoubtedly the Supreme Court would uphold a statute made on the basis of such a treaty.

Labor questions have been made the subject of treaties between nations on numerous occasions. In the light of what the International Labor Office has done in connection with international agreements on labor questions, it would appear that diplomats and the official representatives of labor and industry regard these matters as appropriate subjects of international agreements.

Article 23 of the Covenant of the League of Nations provides that the member countries will endeavor to secure and maintain "fair and humane conditions of labor for men, women and children," both in their own countries and in all countries to which their commercial and industrial relations extend, and for that purpose will establish and maintain the necessary international organization.

To date the International Labor Office, through the numerous meetings of its member representatives, has adopted 40 labor conventions, seven of which deal with child labor. In all except the most recent adoption, these conventions have been ratified by most of the leading industrial member nations.

The United States in June of this year joined the International Labor Office and even before joining we went so far as to send unofficial delegates to the conferences with their expenses paid by the United States Treasury. The Supreme Court, should it be faced with this issue, would no doubt take judicial notice of this fact and be influenced by the drift of the times, as evidenced by the growing demand for international control of labor conditions.

## VI

The final outcome of an attempt to control child labor by this method rests, of course, in the hands of the majority of the United States Supreme Court. No one can predict the result with certainty. The failure of the several states to adopt reasonably uniform and satisfactory laws on this matter, and the interstate competition which results from such diversity, seems to preclude the state approach as an effective method. The failure of the laws, passed under the taxing and under the interstate commerce powers by Congress, to satisfy the Supreme Court, forced the opponents of child labor to turn to an amendment of the Constitution. This has been blocked, only 20 states having ratified it in eleven years. Finally, the uncertainty of child labor abolition under the restricted number of codes and the doubtful future of those codes now in existence would seem to warrant some immediate concern for an alternative method of control on the part of those opposed to the premature employment of young persons. Regulation by treaty may be the next logical step.

# THE REGIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF EMINENT AMERICANS WITH ESPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE SOUTHWEST\*

BY MAPHEUS SMITH

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## I

The eminent man is a little considered but most important subject of regional studies. Eminent men are persons who stand out in comparison with most of their fellows, being relatively more important and having greater visibility, greater prestige and more influence upon their time and place than other men.

To most of us it seems incongruous to class as eminent those persons whose prominence and leadership are confined to a small town or to one county. Statewide prominence, regional prominence, probably even national prominence within some major and widely respected field of human endeavor, is the notion most of us have of eminence. There is good scientific precedent for this view. Sir Frances Galton, the first really thorough student of eminent men, gave the term to men of the degree of rarity possessed by the most outstanding man among some 4,800 of his contemporaries.<sup>1</sup> We immediately note that *Who's Who in America* offers the most satisfactory information on Americans of this degree of prominence, since about one in 4,000 adult males is listed in this reference work, and since the preponderance of nationally recognized persons are men.

Although serious shortcomings may be recognized in the use of *Who's Who in America* data,<sup>2</sup> it must still be admitted that the list contains practically everyone worthy of national recognition by reason of present position or past accomplishments, of leadership in an important field of endeavor, or of prestige and influence. When due allowance is made for the manner of selection of

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<sup>1</sup>*Hereditary Genius*, New York, 1891, pp. 10-11.

<sup>2</sup>Position is the basis of recognition in many cases, rather than achievement; there is perhaps a regional bias; there is a recognition lag between achievement and inclusion in *Who's Who in America*; and many people retain their places among the elect long after they have ceased to contribute actively to any field of endeavor.



names, the work remains a fairly accurate source of information on regional origins and present distribution of nationally prominent contemporaries.

The importance of eminent men, as they have been defined, appears obvious enough, but a few little known facts about them will serve to justify their study. The distribution of eminent men is a good index of the quality of the population of a geographical unit. For every eminent person it is safe to say that there are many others who are of exceptional ability. Able, prominent, and successful persons are not found in isolation, but live among persons possessing many of the same characteristics. A university faculty may be used as an example of many talented persons with some degree of recognition who but form a backdrop for the few who have national recognition as starred men of science, as members of committees of learned societies, or as members of editorial staffs of scholarly journals.

The existence of eminent men in a locality is an index of culture and civilization as well as of ability. A series of investigations has revealed a fairly close correlation between a high ratio of resident eminent persons and percentage of foreign-born population, per capita circulation of magazines, and per capita wealth. Medium correlations have been discovered between the distribution of eminent persons and cool mean annual temperature, small percentage of recruits with venereal disease reporting at mobilization camps in 1917, superior condition of health and health-service, high intelligence test performance of the population, high percentage of urban population, large total assimilation problem, superior educational facilities, small proportion of Baptists and Methodists in the 1928 church membership, and superior morality index. And low correlations exist for dry climate, small percentage of Negroes in the population, low incidence of crime, and large circulation of wet newspapers.<sup>3</sup>

When numerous separate traits of urban civilization are combined into a single index of general culture status, the correlation is fairly close,<sup>4</sup> which implies that a perfect measure of culture or civilization would reveal a correlation coefficient above .95 when related to the distribution of eminent men. We are safe in

<sup>3</sup>Unpublished data. Fairly close correlations are above .60, medium ones are from .40 to .60, small ones below .40.

<sup>4</sup>Coefficients of +.56, +.62, and +.66, and +.75 were obtained for different indexes of culture status.

saying that no easily obtained index is any more reliable for inferring the state of culture of a locality than the distribution of eminent men.

## II

In view of the significance of the distribution of nationally prominent persons, it is of paramount importance to deal with regions in as exact a sense as possible and yet in such a way that the results will mean the most. A region, if its study is to mean much, should have organic unity; in order to mean anything at all, its parts should be similar to each other and different from other regions. At the same time, data on the region should be available, or its organic unity or homogeneity will be meaningless in any concrete and practical sense.

But these desiderata are not easily obtained. Homogeneity may be present on the basis of topography but not climate, on the basis of climate and topography but not historically, economically, politically, racially, or "culturally." The larger the geographical limits of the region, the less likelihood there is of homogeneity along any line.

The Southwest, as the Southwestern Social Science Association conceives it to be, certainly is only very slightly unitary or homogeneous. Climatically, there are tremendous differences between warm, damp Louisiana and dry and fairly cool Western Kansas. Topographically, there is a vast region of similar land in several states, but there is little affinity between Ozark hills and the Panhandle. Much of the region has been recently settled, but this is not true of Louisiana and the other states touching the Mississippi River. Politically, there is a wide schism, with Kansas standing aloof. Kansas, indeed, stands apart from the other states in its racial constitution, its history, its politics, in its treatment of the Negro, and in more subtle ways. Missouri also has strong affiliations with other states and regions. It is older, and it looks eastward toward Illinois.

And yet, the Ozarks bind Missouri to Arkansas; the plains bind Kansas to Oklahoma. Mobility of population and the process of living together are erasing the differences and drawing the northern part of the region into more sympathetic understanding with the southern. Furthermore, any remarks we make about the validity of the southwestern region as a unit are to a certain extent beside the point. Actually, the possession of data by separate

states makes it possible by rearrangement to make any comparisons that seem desirable. We are able to assume that enough unity exists in the six states west of the Mississippi, east of the Rocky Mountains, and south of an extension of the Mason and Dixon line for worthwhile regional studies. We can therefore proceed to consideration of the facts on regional distribution of notable Americans.

### III

The four west south-central states of Arkansas, Louisiana, Texas, and Oklahoma, when considered as a group in comparison with other groups of states differentiated by the Bureau of the Census, have the misfortune to rank lowest in the ratio of eminent residents to total population in 1930, with 86 resident notable persons per million population. The rank order of the census divisions is the New England, Middle Atlantic, Pacific, South Atlantic, Mountain, East North Central, West North Central, East South Central, and West South Central states. The ranking is changed slightly, however, when Kansas and Missouri are added to the Southwest, the number per million being increased to 112, which is greater than the corresponding figure for the East South Central states. But even after this regrouping, the West North Central states have about a 40 per cent greater concentration of eminent persons than the Southwest, and the Mountain states have more than twice as many notable residents per million population.

There is not much to choose between the four states of the West South Central group. Arkansas has the fewest per million: 66; Oklahoma the most: 107; Louisiana and Texas have 85 and 84, respectively. Only Mississippi ranks below Arkansas when comparisons are made for the country as a whole, while even Oklahoma is surpassed by 42 of the 48 states. Missouri, however, is surpassed by but 21 others, and Kansas ranks thirty-fifth in the country.<sup>5</sup> (See Table I.)

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<sup>5</sup>If a grouping of states is made to conform more exactly to the geographical Southwest, and Oklahoma, Texas, Arizona, and New Mexico are considered to constitute the region, the number of prominent residents per million rises to about 120, which puts the region ahead of the South Central but still behind the other regions of the country. This is in spite of a ratio of 227 per million for New Mexico, and a ratio of 232 per million for Arizona. The tremendous size and low position of Texas holds down the entire region, although Oklahoma is also a considerable handicap.

As is now widely recognized, persons of national prominence are urban in their affiliations, which in turn means that the places of residence of most notable persons are urban. This is as characteristic of the southwestern states as of other states in the country. Here, however, we note that the Southwest gives a better account of itself. Few cities of the region that have more than 100,000 population rank particularly low in ratio of eminent per-

TABLE I

*Regional Distribution of Eminent Americans, by Residence, 1930*

Region	Corrected Number	Number per Million Population	Rank
Southwest	1,973	112	8
New England	3,649	447	1
Middle Atlantic	8,627	329	2
East North Central	4,462	176	6
West North Central	1,265	162	7
South Atlantic	3,926	249	4
East South Central	1,050	106	9
Mountain	867	234	5
Pacific	2,255	275	3
Missouri	684	188.5	22
Kansas	244	130	35
Louisiana	178	85	45
Texas	489	84	46
Oklahoma	256	107	43
Arkansas	122	66	47

sons to population. If we eliminate state capitals and cities having state universities with an enrollment more than 20 per cent as large as the population of the city, Dallas, Texas, is the leading city of the region, with 2,228 people to every resident listed in *Who's Who in America, 1930-31*. Only thirteen other cities of similar type in the country surpass this record. St. Louis, Kansas City, Missouri, Tulsa, and New Orleans were also surpassed by less than half of the cities of over 100,000 population. Fort Worth, Houston, Wichita, El Paso, San Antonio, and Kansas City, Kansas, are distributed throughout the other half of the list, only eleven cities of the class having poorer records than Kansas City, Kansas, where but one person in every 10,000 was included in *Who's Who in America*. The educational centers and state capitals do fully as well in comparison with municipalities of the same character. Fayetteville, Arkansas; Austin, Texas; Lawrence, Kansas; Norman, Oklahoma; and Columbia, Missouri, show up extremely well. And Baton Rouge, Little Rock, Jefferson City,



Oklahoma City, and especially Topeka have far from the poorest records for state capitals.\* (See Table II.)

TABLE II  
*Number of Inhabitants per Resident Eminent Person for  
Southwestern Cities, 1930*

City	Population	Who's Who in America Residents	Ratio	Rank of City in Its Class
Cities above 100,000 population, whether or not universities, not including capitals				
Dallas .....	260,475	117	2,227.9	14
St. Louis .....	821,960	324	2,403.4	19
Kansas City, Mo. ....	399,746	162	2,466.9	22
Tulsa .....	141,258	53	2,665.2	28
New Orleans .....	458,762	131	3,502.0	38
Fort Worth .....	163,447	40	4,086.1	43
Houston .....	292,352	64	4,568.0	46
Wichita .....	111,110	24	4,629.6	47
El Paso .....	102,421	21	4,877.2	48
San Antonio .....	231,542	39	5,626.2	52
Kansas City, Kan. ....	121,857	12	10,156.0	69
State University cities, under 100,000 population				
Fayetteville, Ark. ...	7,394	27	273.9	14
Norman, Okla. ....	9,603	29	331.1	15
Lawrence, Kan. ....	13,726	55	249.5	12
Columbia, Mo. ....	14,967	66	226.8	9
State capitals without state universities, regardless of size				
Topeka .....	64,120	58	1,105.5	17
Oklahoma City .....	185,389	103	1,800.0	34
Jefferson City .....	21,596	13	1,661.2	32
Little Rock .....	81,679	55	1,485.1	30
State capitals and state universities, regardless of size				
Austin .....	53,120	69	769.4	3
Baton Rouge, La. ...	30,729	19	1,617.3	6

Some important changes have taken place in the distribution of eminent persons during the last thirty years. Although the rank

\*A rearrangement of states to include Arizona and New Mexico in the Southwest would not change the rank of the Southwest's cities materially. There are no cities in Arizona and New Mexico of 100,000 or more population. The state university cities of Arizona and New Mexico are below average for the country, but the state capitals are above average, and above those of the six states mentioned in the text.

of the Southwest among the regions has remained the same, Missouri improved in rank from thirty-first to twenty-second, Oklahoma from forty-sixth to forty-third, and Texas from forty-seventh to forty-sixth. But Arkansas changed from forty-fourth to forty-seventh and Louisiana from thirty-seventh to forty-fifth. Kansas remained unchanged in rank.<sup>7</sup> The western and "younger" tier of states thus is either improving or maintaining its place, while two of the eastern and "older" tier of states have lost ground.<sup>8</sup> (See Table III.)

#### IV

We might by a laborious process consider in turn all facts that conceivably could explain the rank of the Southwest in the country and the differences between parts of the region. But space will not permit of such exhaustive treatment. Instead we shall set forth a point of view for interpretations of the distribution of eminent men and indicate the conclusions which a careful statistical and theoretical analysis of the facts support.

In order to understand the distribution of nationally notable persons, we must remember that they are selected according to urban standards and according to standards of social organization and cultural life of those parts of the country which have been settled longest and which contain the greatest centers of education and wealth. And, however distasteful it may be to those of us who are most proud to call ourselves Americans, these standards are indirectly European, particularly British, because they are essentially historic standards, albeit influenced by American history and traditions.

The keynote of our interpretation is that dominant centers of government, finance, education and scholarship, art, literature, and communication are the pace-setters and models in the national recognition of prominent persons. It follows from this fact that the centers of influence are not only centers of evaluation, but also

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<sup>7</sup>During the period the proportion of recognized personages more than doubled, but the rank order of each state would not have been affected if its proportion had been exactly doubled also.

<sup>8</sup>Arizona within the same period lost one place in rank while New Mexico gained two places. Thus, if Texas, Oklahoma, New Mexico, and Arizona are considered as composing the southwestern states, the region has gained considerable ground during the last three decades and has a distinctly favorable prognosis for future development.

TABLE III

*Rank of the Southwestern States in the Number of Resident Eminent Men in Ratio to Total Population, 1900 and 1930*

Region	Rank in 1900	Rank in 1930
Southwest .....	8	8
New England .....	1	1
Middle Atlantic .....	2	2
East North Central .....	6	6
West North Central .....	7	7
South Atlantic .....	4	4
East South Central .....	9	9
Mountain .....	3	5
Pacific .....	5	3
Missouri .....	31	22
Kansas .....	35	35
Louisiana .....	37	45
Texas .....	47	46
Oklahoma .....	46	43
Arkansas .....	44	47

are centers of concentration of persons of types that are recognized. A region that is not a pace-setter thus suffers triply in recognition: first, its culture is generally not exactly like that of the pace-setters; second, because it is not a pace-setter, it does not have the persons whose presence makes a region a pace-setter—usually nationally recognized persons; and third, it neither attracts nor holds those who, being ambitious and possessing talent, seek the centers of education and scholarship, wealth, government, religion, and art for the realization of their ambition and the use of their talent.

In the light of these facts, the explanation of the Southwest's position is comprehensible. Much of the region is newly developed, thinly settled, agricultural; much of its population is poor, ignorant, handicapped by belonging to unprivileged races or social classes; its climate is not as attractive as that of many sections of the country; much of it is not situated where it is important for transportation. Raw materials of civilization, such as oil, agricultural products, and surplus population, are its contribution, rather than leadership in cultural development. The region even today is considered the hinterland of the Atlantic states. Its art centers are young; its educational centers are few, small, young, and scattered.

The Southwest, for the reasons mentioned, should have no shame because of its present standing as a place of residence of

notable persons. In fact, it may well be proud of its record when we consider the obstacles with which it has been, and still is, faced. Further, there are several hopeful aspects of its situation that should not be forgotten. Recently much of it has gained in wealth from oil products, and this wealth in some cases is adding to the cultural importance of the region. Outstanding examples are the development of The University of Texas, which still has only begun to benefit from its oil-given wealth. Southwestern College in Kansas is a lesser example of the same gain. The growth in wealth and power of Oklahoma City and Tulsa has been due in large part to the same source.

Illiteracy has declined in the southern states of the group, an improvement which should continue in years to come. Higher education, in general, is on the up-grade. The founding of the University of Wichita, the University of Kansas City, and the rapid growth of the Universities of Oklahoma, Louisiana, and Texas, Rice Institute, and Southern Methodist University are symptomatic. Interest in art is also encouraging with the opening of the Nelson Gallery of Art in Kansas City, the development of the Saint Louis Municipal Open Air Theatre, and the founding of the Kansas City Symphony Orchestra as outstanding instances.

## V

If we were to compose a recipe for the increase of the number of nationally prominent residents of a region, it would have many well-defined ingredients. As a base, a region must have wealth and a large, intelligent, thoughtful, energetic, and intellectual population. It must have recognized centers of art, literature, publishing, education, music, business, and science. It must have a healthful and pleasant climate. It must have few handicaps such as crime and poverty. There must be freedom for and incentive to produce wealth, to create and to discover that which is culturally worthwhile, and to criticize and change that which is inferior.

And finally, there must be pride and belief in the region. This is fundamental if a region is to hold its talented young people and if it is to attract talented people from elsewhere. Families bound to its institutions and who are identified with the region are essential to the rank of the states and cities which are now and have been the country's leading habitat of nationally prominent



men and women. The importance of holding potential leaders can scarcely be overestimated. Holding power is indicative of attracting power. Since potential eminent persons move toward centers of opportunity from all places less fortunately situated, it follows that those regions which can hold their own young people offer most opportunity and are therefore attractive to the residents of other regions.

We may point out the requirements for superior rank as a place of residence of eminent persons, but such a rank will only with difficulty be obtained by a region that does not possess it as a heritage from former generations. The Southwestern states of the country must meet all of the requirements that have been enumerated. And they must overcome one type of obstacle that seems practically insurmountable, namely, the existing ecological organization of the country with its eastern focus and tradition. The culture center of America, if it were determined by the same method of estimation as that employed for locating the center of population, may indeed be gradually shifting toward the West, but the change has been slow and it may not accelerate except as the pull of the Pacific region becomes stronger. In any case, however, it is not moving Southward, and it is not in reality moving toward the Middle West. We are even safe in saying that the group of states in which we are primarily interested for the moment will never be the cultural pacemaker of the country. The Southwest may make a larger cultural contribution of eminent persons; culture centers may develop within the region; but the utmost regional unity of effort would have little effect in changing the course of our history. Centers of control cannot shift from the head of an organism so long as the organism survives. The Southwest cannot, therefore, hope to be the leader of the United States in eminent men. It may gain ground faster than other regions; it may rise somewhat in rank; and with this, Southwesterners should be satisfied.

After all, there is little justification of regional boosting or boasting. Regional pride may be natural, but ethnocentrism in no case should be allowed to confuse the issue, which is the need for each part of the country to act in terms of the whole and not in terms of itself alone. The country is in a process of greater unification, and any regional group which opposes the trend has missed the significance of our era.

## PROBLEMS OF CONGRESSIONAL REAPPORTIONMENT

BY HUBERT SEARCY

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The study of a governmental problem which has occurred, constitutionally and traditionally, at certain specified intervals becomes doubly interesting when for matters of political expediency its periodic recurrence is prevented. The difficulties which are inherent in such a problem are magnified by inexcusable delay. Congress refused to reapportion the seats in the House of Representatives among the several states after the census of 1920. Thus, for the first time since the adoption of the Constitution did Congress fail to carry into effect by law the implication of the Constitution that Representatives shall be apportioned "within every subsequent Term of ten Years."<sup>1</sup> Although this inaction of Congress may be properly termed inexcusable, it is necessary to consider some of the historical problems involved in reapportionment in order to appreciate the difficulties faced by Congress in 1920.

Ever since the formation of the Union, Congressional reapportionment has been a vexatious task for the leaders of the national government. The original basis of representation agreed upon at the Constitutional Convention provided that the number of Representatives should not exceed one for every 40,000 persons. An amendment was later offered to change this figure to 30,000. The discussion of this amendment was the only occasion when George Washington participated in the debates of that Convention. He requested that the proposed amendment be adopted and his request was without further debate unanimously granted.<sup>2</sup>

In 1789 Congress submitted an amendment to the Constitution regulating the ratio of apportionment and the size of the House,

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<sup>1</sup>Art. 1, Sec. 2.

<sup>2</sup>See *Documents Illustrative of the Formation of the Union of the American States* (1927), p. 741. Art. 1, Sec. 2, of the Constitution provides that: "Representatives . . . shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective Numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole Number of free Persons, including those bound to Service for a Term of Years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three fifths of all other Persons. . . . The Number of Representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty Thousand, but each State shall have at Least one Representative; . . ."

but it failed of ratification by three-fourths of the states.<sup>3</sup> The matter of reapportionment gave George Washington the occasion for his first veto,<sup>4</sup> singularly enough connected with the only provision in the draft of the Federal Constitution in which he had advocated a change.

One of the early objections to the House was that so small a number of Representatives would be an unsafe depository of the public interests; that defective as the number would be in the first instance, it would become more and more disproportionate by the increase of the Representatives. Another criticism of the House was that it would be too small to possess a due knowledge of the interests of its constituents.<sup>5</sup>

Had those who raised these objections been able to visualize the rapid increase in the size of the House, such fears would have been promptly dispelled. The number of seats in the House has increased with each reapportionment, except in 1840, when it was reduced from 242 to 232, and in 1929, when it was not changed. Simultaneously, there has been an increase in the number of persons taken as the basis of representation.<sup>6</sup>

With each reapportionment has come the difficulty of redistributing the seats in the House among the several states in accordance with the shifts in population. After each census Congress has sought for a method of apportionment which would alleviate

<sup>3</sup>1 Stat. 97; 2 *Ann. Cong.* 1984.

<sup>4</sup>3 *Ann. Cong.* 539 (1792).

<sup>5</sup>*The Federalist* (Ford ed., 1898), No. 55 (54) and No. 56 (55).

<sup>6</sup>These facts are shown in the following table, taken from the *Statistical Abstract of the United States* (1931), p. 172:

Ratio of Population per Representative	Number of Representatives	Year
30,000	65	Constitution
33,000	106	1790
33,000	142	1800
35,000	186	1810
40,000	213	1820
47,700	242	1830
70,680	232	1840
93,423	237	1850
127,381	243	1860
131,425	293	1870
151,911	332	1880
173,901	357	1890
194,182	391	1900
211,877	435	1910*
279,712	435	1930

\*No apportionment was made in 1920.

the difficulties involved. The task of selecting the best method is a mathematical problem of great complexity, because the final results obtained must be in whole numbers. If the exact quota of each state came out as a whole number, the mathematical problem would be simplified. But in almost every instance, the exact quota will not be a whole number, and the actual assignment must be greater or less than the quota derived.

Congress has employed several different methods in reapportioning since 1790.<sup>7</sup> In 1832 Daniel Webster launched a vigorous attack upon the method then in use. He argued that there was not an equitable distribution of the seats of the House among the states according to population, as provided in the Constitution. Webster did not interpret this provision of the Constitution to enjoin an absolute relative equality, but he said Congress was required to apportion the Representatives among the states according to population, "as near as may be."

The so-called "Alabama paradox" was produced by the method used to reapportion after the census of 1880. When 299 Representatives were apportioned among the states, Alabama received eight Representatives. When the number of Representatives was increased to 300, applying the same method, Alabama received seven Representatives. This same defect appeared again in 1900 in a very aggravated form. It came up in the case of Maine, and it was found that, following the same rule as in 1880, when 383 Representatives were apportioned, Maine received four Representatives. It retained four in the apportionment of 384 and 385 Representatives, but when 386 seats were apportioned, Maine's quota went down to three, and came back to four when the total number was 387 and 388. It dropped back to three when the total was 389 or 390, and then came up to four when the total reached 391 and remained at that figure thereafter.<sup>8</sup>

Although Congress was not a group of mathematicians, it believed that any method of apportionment which produced such anomalies was not desirable, and it was apparent that the defect

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<sup>7</sup>For a discussion of the different methods used and others which might have been used, and the mathematical aspects of each, see Zechariah Chafee, Jr., "Congressional Reapportionment," 42 *Harv. L. Rev.* 1015, 1020-39 (1928).

<sup>8</sup>*Hearings before the Committee on the Census*, H. of Rep., on H. R. 13471, 69th Congress, 2nd Session, Jan. 10, 1927. Representative Littlefield, of Maine, in speaking of the anomalous variations, remarked: "It seems to be a case of now you see it and now you don't."



was inherent in the method then in use. Professor Walter F. Willcox, of Cornell University, was associated with the Census Bureau in fixing the apportionment tables of 1900. Knowing the nature of the problem and the wishes of Congress in the matter, he set about to work out a satisfactory method of apportionment. In 1910 Professor Willcox presented a different plan, the Method of Major Fractions, and it was accepted by Congress almost without dissent. The Method of Major Fractions was again used in 1930 and will be explained more fully below.

The last apportionment measure passed by Congress prior to the Act of 1929 was the Act of August 8, 1911.<sup>9</sup> During the period from 1790 to 1910 a bill reapportioning the Representatives had been enacted every ten years, always within two years after the taking of the census. But after the census of 1920 the long honored tradition was broken, and what had previously been regarded as a mandatory provision of the Constitution was ignored by Congress.

The Act which was finally passed in 1929 was the culmination of a struggle in Congress lasting nearly ten years. The technical reasons advanced by Congress for its failure to reapportion during this time were that the census of 1920 did not fairly represent the rural districts, and that the actual enumeration was not efficient. The true reason, however, was that reapportionment involved the political fortunes of many members of the House. The report of the House Committee on the Census in 1929, when Congressional leaders were making determined efforts to reapportion, explains the true state of affairs with the following statement: "... the debates in Congress show that the real stumbling block was the fact that unless the size of the House were increased far beyond its then membership many states would have lost one or more Representatives by the apportionment bill proposed in 1920."<sup>10</sup>

There probably would not have been so many objections to reapportionment if the size of the House had been increased sufficiently so that no state would have lost a seat. The House was allotted 435 members under the Act of 1911, and many efforts were made after 1920 by Representatives from the states which

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<sup>9</sup>37 Stat. 13. Cited hereafter as the Act of 1911.

<sup>10</sup>House Report 2010, 70th Cong. 2nd Sess.

were expected to lose seats to increase this number.<sup>11</sup> In 1927 the House Committee on the Census failed to report a reapportionment measure and advocates of such legislation pointed out that on the committee were six members whose states would lose seats, six members from states which would neither lose nor gain, and only four members representing states which would gain seats.

The reapportionment fight was no respecter of political affiliations. Party lines disappeared, and as a general rule Congressmen voted for or against reapportionment according to whether their respective states were to gain or lose seats. Various combinations of political factions were resorted to in an effort to prevent a redistribution of Representatives among the states. The balance of population in the United States had shifted from the rural sections to urban centers since the Act of 1911, and in addition there had been a migration from inland states to the coastal regions.<sup>12</sup> The result was a reenactment of the colorful and traditional clash between "town and country."<sup>13</sup>

Simultaneously, there arose the wet and dry issue, because the bulwark of the wets' strength was in the urban centers and the dry votes came largely from the rural sections. The culmination of the struggle between these factions was an effort by the states which were to lose seats to exclude aliens from the total representative population.<sup>14</sup> As this would have reduced the population of the large cities of the North and East, Congressmen from those states retaliated with a proposition to exclude disfranchised Southern negroes.<sup>15</sup> At one time both the alien and negro amendments were attached to the bill, but both amendments were elim-

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<sup>11</sup>See especially the debates over increasing the size of the House in 70 *Cong. Rec.* 1783 (1929). For a comparative study of the size of the House and similar legislative bodies in other countries see *Hearings before the Committee on the Census*, H. of Rep., 69th Cong., 2nd. Sess. (January, 1927) on H. R. 13471.

<sup>12</sup>See Merlo J. Pusey, "Shift of Population as Affected by Industry," 32 *Current History* 112 (April, 1930).

<sup>13</sup>See Orville A. Welsh, "Government by Yoke," 3 *American Mercury* 199 (October, 1924).

<sup>14</sup>The representative population is the total population of the U. S., excluding Indians not taxed and excluding the population of the District of Columbia.

<sup>15</sup>See debates in Congress, 71 *Cong. Rec.* 2364, 2605-08 (1929); 74 *ibid.* 997 (1930). See also *New York Times*, Jan. 9, 1929, p. 63. The retaliatory Negro amendment to the bill was to enforce Section 2 of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution which provides that: "Representatives shall

inated by clever parliamentary tactics and a great deal of the intense bitterness was thereby eliminated.

Underneath all of the objections to a new apportionment there stood first the selfish interests of the Representatives. Reapportionment meant redistricting in the states losing representation, and it is an accepted fact that Representatives prefer to have their old districts left undisturbed. In addition, everyone knew that a reduction of a state's representation in the House of Representatives meant the elimination of a corresponding number of the incumbent Representatives from that state and thus increased the hazards of reelection.<sup>16</sup> To most Representatives, a seat in Congress was probably more important than a reapportionment bill to fulfill a constitutional mandate which had been ignored since the census of 1920.

After enough time had elapsed following the census of 1920 to demonstrate to the public that Congress was evidently unwilling to reapportion, the lawmaking body was subjected to severe criticism by students of government and by the press. It was contended by these critics that the law-makers of the nation were guilty of flagrant violation of the Constitution,<sup>17</sup> and Congressmen frankly admitted their dereliction, but the opposition remained sufficiently powerful to prevent a reapportionment for nine years.

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be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice President of the United States (Representatives in Congress, the Executive and Judicial officers of a State, or the members of the Legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion, or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State."

<sup>16</sup>Elections held subsequent to reapportionment showed that redistricting produced a high mortality rate among the incumbents.

<sup>17</sup>Professor Myers, of Princeton University, in an article entitled, "An Unconstitutional President?," 226 *North American Review* 385 (1928), advances the interesting argument that the results of the 1928 presidential election could have been declared illegal by the courts. Congress had failed to reapportion, and, therefore, the Electoral College was composed of unconstitutional electors. Chafee, *loc. cit.*, pp. 1019-20, although agreeing as to the desirability of reapportionment, refutes the validity of Professor Myers' thesis by pointing out its impracticability.

During this time, forty-two reapportionment bills were introduced in Congress,<sup>18</sup> but little progress toward the enactment of a law was made until the introduction in the House in December, 1928, of the bill<sup>19</sup> which finally became the Act of 1929. This bill was passed by the House on January 11, 1929. It was reported favorably by the Senate Committee on Commerce but died on the calendar.<sup>20</sup>

In his message to the special session of Congress, April, 1929, President Hoover spoke of the reapportionment of Congressional representation as "emergency legislation," and recommended its consummation as being in the public interest. Congress this time went about its task seriously. A reapportionment measure was passed by the Senate on May 29, 1929,<sup>21</sup> approved by the House with minor alterations,<sup>22</sup> and signed by President Hoover on June 18, 1929.<sup>23</sup>

The Act of 1929 was not within itself a reapportionment measure. It was anticipatory legislation and set up the machinery for a reapportionment after the 1930 census.<sup>24</sup> The Act provided that the President<sup>25</sup> transmit to Congress on December 1, 1930, or within one week thereafter, a statement showing the population of each state, and the number of Representatives to which each state would be entitled under an apportionment made in each of the two methods specified in the Act.

The Act also provided that Congress had until March 4, 1931, to pass subsequent legislation concerning the reapportionment on

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<sup>18</sup>See House Report 2010, 70th Cong., 2nd Sess. (1929).

<sup>19</sup>H. R. 11725, 70th Cong., 2nd Sess.

<sup>20</sup>For a general review of the reapportionment struggle from 1920 to 1931 see 7 *Congressional Digest* 340 (1928), and 8 *Congressional Digest* 33 (1929). See also House Report 1137, 70th Cong., 1st Sess. (1928); House Report 2010, 70th Cong., 2nd Sess. (1929); Senate Report 1446, 70th Cong., 2nd Sess. (1929); House Reports 19 and 20, 71st Cong., 1st Sess. (1929); Senate Report 2, 71st Cong., 1st Sess. (1929); *Hearing before the Committee on the Census*, H. of Rep., 69th Cong., 2nd Sess. (1927) on H. R. 13471; *Hearings before the Committee on the Census*, H. of Rep., 71st Cong., 3rd Sess. (1931), on H. R. 15983, H. R. 16301, H. R. 16346, and H. R. 16704.

<sup>21</sup>S. 312, 71st Cong., 1st Sess. See 71 *Cong. Rec.* 254.

<sup>22</sup>71 *Cong. Rec.* 2676, 2773.

<sup>23</sup>46 Stat. 26. Cited hereafter as the Act of 1929.

<sup>24</sup>Only once previously, in 1850, had Congress passed a reapportionment bill before the census figures were available.

<sup>25</sup>Similar duties had been assigned to the Secretary of the Interior in 1850.



the basis of the census of 1930. In the event that no legislation was passed before this date, specifying the method of apportionment to be followed, reapportionment was to be automatically effected under the method used in the last preceding apportionment. As a matter of fact Congress could have passed another Act calling for an entirely different method of apportionment, but the safeguard was that in the event Congress failed to legislate further on the matter, a reapportionment would be assured. No doubt the failure to agree on a method immediately following the census of 1920 was responsible for this unique feature of the bill.

The Act of 1929 guaranteed a reapportionment not only in 1930 but for all future time, subject, of course, to changes in the law by Congress. It is specified in the Act that the President shall transmit the necessary information, mentioned above, to the second regular session of each fifth Congress, beginning with the Seventy-first. If the Congress to which this information is transmitted fails to enact a reapportionment law, each state will be allotted a number of Representatives determined by the method used in the last preceding apportionment. It should be remembered, however, that no authority has been taken from Congress, as it can provide a new method whenever it wishes, but inaction on the part of Congress cannot forestall reapportionment in the future.

President Hoover transmitted the apportionment tables to Congress on December 4, 1930.<sup>26</sup> Although opponents of reapportionment made strenuous efforts to amend the Act of 1929 prior to March 4, 1931, they were unsuccessful.<sup>27</sup> No legislation was passed, however, as to the method of apportionment to be used, and as a result the automatic feature of the Act took effect and apportionment was carried out by the Method of Major Fractions, which was the method that had been used in the last preceding apportionment, that of 1911.

As explained above, Professor Willcox had originated the plan of apportionment known as the Method of Major Fractions in conformity with the wishes of Congress. Although it is not feasible to discuss this method in detail here, a brief summary of the working principle of the method will be given. It may be explained as follows:

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<sup>26</sup>House Document 664, 71st Cong., 3rd Sess.

<sup>27</sup>The alien and negro amendments were once again injected into the legislative battles.

First, assign one Representative to each state, making forty-eight in all, as required by the Constitution.

Second, divide the representative population of each state by the following quantities in succession:  $1\frac{1}{2}$ ,  $2\frac{1}{2}$ ,  $3\frac{1}{2}$ , etc.

Third, arrange the quotients thereby obtained in order of size, beginning with the largest and continuing the process until the total number of quotients plus forty-eight is one greater than the number of Representatives to be apportioned.

Fourth, divide the population of the several states by a number midway between the last two quotients in the list.

Fifth, assign to each state a number of Representatives equal to the whole number in the quotient which was obtained for that state by the above division, plus one more Representative in case the quotient contains a major fraction—that is, a fraction equal to or greater than one-half.<sup>28</sup>

The following table illustrates the manner in which the Method of Major Fractions operated under the census of 1910:<sup>29</sup>

Quotients arranged in order of size	Size of House	State receiving the last assigned Representative	Cumulative number of Representatives for each State
6,072,623	49	New York _____	2
5,110,074	50	Pennsylvania _____	2
3,759,061	51	Illinois _____	2
3,643,574	52	New York _____	3
3,178,081	53	Ohio _____	2
3,066,044	54	Pennsylvania _____	3
2,602,553	55	New York _____	4
2,597,695	56	Texas _____	2
2,255,436	57	Illinois _____	3
2,244,277	58	Massachusetts _____	2
2,195,556	59	Missouri _____	2
		Intervening figures omitted for sake of convenience.	
217,011	425	Virginia _____	10
216,766	426	Nebraska _____	6
216,070	427	Indiana _____	13
215,918	428	Pennsylvania _____	36
215,626	429	Idaho _____	2
215,034	430	Florida _____	4
214,321	431	New York _____	43
212,777	432	Illinois _____	27
212,473	433	Missouri _____	16
212,106	434	Maine _____	4
211,883	435	Iowa _____	11

<sup>28</sup>Hearings before the Committee on the Census, H. of Rep., on H. R. 13471, 69th Cong., 2nd Sess. (Jan. 28, 1927).

<sup>29</sup>House Report 1137, 70th Cong., 1st Sess. (1928).

It will be observed from the above table that the four hundred and thirty-fifth seat in the House was assigned to Iowa in 1910. The number 211,877 which is frequently referred to as the population which each member represents, is merely the half-way or mid-point between Iowa's quotient, 211,883, and Ohio's quotient, 211,872, which would have received the four hundred and thirty-sixth member. By using this divisor, 211,877, each state secured in 1910 one Representative for each full quota (211,877) and one for each major fraction. That is where it gets its name, "The Method of Major Fractions."<sup>30</sup>

The Method of Major Fractions has been assailed by some proponents of other methods of apportionment, who charge that it does not provide mathematical exactness. Professor E. V. Huntington, of Harvard University, in 1921 devised an apportionment plan called the Method of Equal Proportions.<sup>31</sup> It was incorporated in the Act of 1929 as one of the two methods which might be selected by Congress. It is probably true that a majority of the mathematicians agree in preferring the Method of Equal Proportions to that of Major Fractions,<sup>32</sup> but Congress and many students of government seem well satisfied with the latter.<sup>33</sup>

The chief difference between the two methods is purely a mathematical one. Professor Willcox does not defend his method from a mathematical standpoint; in fact, he believes neither of the two methods is the better method of apportionment. Professor Huntington seems to regard the reapportionment problem as purely statistical, while Professor Willcox treats it as a political problem. Professor Willcox states that his main purpose was to help Congress out of a dilemma and that he is not interested in justifying his course to his academic colleagues.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>30</sup>For Dr. Willcox's explanation of the method see his article "The Apportionment of Representatives," 6 *American Economic Review* (Supp.) 3 (March, 1916). See also House Report 1911, 61st Cong. 3rd Sess. (1911).

<sup>31</sup>He discusses this method in "The Apportionment of Representatives in Congress," 30 *Transactions of the American Mathematical Society* 85 (1928).

<sup>32</sup>It was recommended as the best available method of apportionment by the National Academy of Sciences in 1929. See 70 *Cong. Rec.* 4966 *et seq.*

<sup>33</sup>See 8 *Congressional Digest* 52 (1928).

<sup>34</sup>67 *Science* 581 (June 8, 1928). For a series of articles by Drs. Willcox and Huntington see 67 *ibid.* 509 (May 18, 1928); 68 *ibid.* 579 (Dec. 14, 1928); 69 *ibid.* 163 (Feb. 8, 1929); 69 *ibid.* 272 (March 8, 1929); 69 *ibid.* 471 (May 3, 1929).

One could not expect that Congress would bother with working out the details of such a technical problem, but, on the contrary, that it would leave the solution to some expert whose plan conforms to the practical ideas of the Congressmen. Dr. Willcox found out what Congress wanted and provided it. Perhaps one reason why Congress has accepted the Method of Major Fractions is that this method embodies a principle which is very commonly applied in everyday practical affairs: namely, counting a remainder of one-half or more than one-half and dropping a remainder less than one-half. It is interesting to note that the Method of Major Fractions and the Method of Equal Proportions produced the same results under the census of 1930.<sup>35</sup>

It is apparent from an examination of the facts discussed above that reapportionment presents many thorny problems. Although Congress has been censured for its failure to reapportion in 1920, it seems that cognizance should be taken that the national legislators have sought in the Act of 1929 to prevent a recurrence of the omission of 1920.

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<sup>35</sup>See E. V. Huntington, "Methods of Apportionment in Congress," 25 *American Political Science Review* 961 (November, 1931). When the two methods yield different results, the Method of Major Fractions usually favors the large States rather than the small.



## THE MARITAL CONDITION OF THE POPULATION OF TEXAS: 1890-1930

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The purpose of this study is to discover the marital condition of the total population of Texas fifteen years of age and over as well as the conditions existing in the various classes of the population. Although inquiry concerning this subject was made in both 1870 and 1880, the results derivable from this inquiry were not compiled. Similar information was collected and presented for the first time as a part of the United States census in the eleventh census compiled in 1890. Because of the limited data the indications of trends do not permit of any outstanding and particularly significant generalizations. Nevertheless, some facts of value and interest have resulted from the research.

Classification by color is divided into white and colored. The white element comprises three distinct classes; namely, native white of native parentage, sometimes called native stock; native white of foreign or mixed parentage, who may be referred to as the children of immigrants; and foreign white, usually spoken of as immigrants.<sup>1</sup> No attempt has been made to make a separate division for those of negro descent, for this group constituted, in Texas, practically all the colored element prior to 1930, excepting, perhaps, a few Chinese, Japanese, and Indians. Persons of Mexican birth or parentage were designated "Mexican" in 1930 and included in the general class of "Other Races," which group has been included in the colored total for that year. In prior censuses Mexicans were classified as white.

Marked differences exist, also, between urban and rural communities in regard to the marital composition of their population. Separate statistics for the two types of communities are given in the 1920 and 1930 census. Since, however, this division was not made for the census prior to 1920, the present comparative study has combined the data given for the rural and urban in order to make a total conforming to the other data used.

The present analysis does not attempt to consider specific age groups. An extension of the findings of this paper to include five or ten year age-division periods would prove more enlightening;

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<sup>1</sup>Reuter and Runner, *The Family*, p. 194.

for the percentage of a population who are married is dependent on the age distribution of the population. For instance, there is a smaller per cent of persons married under thirty years of age than over thirty. The age period at which the most persons are reported married is from 35 years to 45 years.<sup>2</sup> A population with a large percent of middle aged persons will have a larger per cent married than will a population with a large per cent of young persons.

The margin of error in reports for the census is impossible to determine. Unbiased errors, where report was given by some one other than the person enumerated, probably offset each other. It is quite likely that in certain cases incorrect replies may have been given through intent to deceive, as in the case of married immigrants who left their wives in their native country and wanted to report themselves as single.<sup>3</sup> The proportion of the population whose marital condition was not reported by enumerators and the proportion whose age was unknown constitute only a small part of 1 per cent of the population. Thus, they are not shown in the tables, but they are in all cases included in the totals on which the percentages of single, married, and widowed are based.

The returns for the widowed and divorced persons do not represent the total number of living persons who have been widowed or divorced. No account is taken of the widowed and divorced who have remarried.

There are several ways of stating the divorce rate, but these different methods of measuring the rate do not produce the same results. The basis of the ratio may be between divorce and total population, divorce and marriage, or divorce and marriageable population. For a basis of comparison between states or areas, there is difficulty in finding a suitable unit of measure. In the present case, however, the basis best suited to the purpose of this study of a specific area, especially with the other data used, seems to be that of the ratio between divorce and the entire population.

### 1. All Classes

The differences in the percentages of males and females in all the classes combined who are single, married, widowed, and divorced are shown in Table 1 and Figure 1.

<sup>2</sup>Reuter and Runner, *Ibid.*, p. 185.

<sup>3</sup>United States Census Report, 1910, Vol. 1, p. 507.

Table 1.—Marital Condition of the Aggregate Population 15 Years of Age and Over, Classified by Sex, for Texas, 1890–1930

Year	Males				Females			
	Single	Married	Widowed	Divorced	Single	Married	Widowed	Divorced
1890	41.8	53.4	4.0	0.2	26.3	61.4	11.8	0.4
1900	39.9	54.7	4.6	0.4	27.3	60.4	11.5	0.7
1910	37.2	57.2	4.6	0.5	26.0	62.7	10.2	0.8
1920	35.1	58.5	4.8	0.7	25.1	62.7	10.9	1.1
1930	32.6	61.3	4.6	1.4	23.3	63.7	11.1	1.9

*Single.*—In 1890 the percentage of single males exceeded the percentage of single females by 15.5 per cent. There is a continual decrease in this difference each decade until the excess has been reduced in 1930 to 9.3 per cent.

*Married.*—As might be expected from the previous statements, the per cent of married females is greater than the per cent of married males. The difference, however, is not so great as in the case of the single, the greatest excess here being 8 per cent in 1890. There has been a continuous rise in the percentage of the males who are married, and, also, in the percentage of females with the single exception of 1900 when there was a decrease of 1 per cent, which was more than regained in 1910. The highest percentages are those of 1930, which show 61.3 per cent of the males over 15 years of age married and 63.7 per cent of the females over 15 years of age married. This reflects 2.4 per cent excess of the percentage of married females over the percentage of married males, which is the smallest percentage of difference during the forty year period. The ratio of the sexes affects the percentage married, and the sex ratio which yields the maximum percentage married, according to some authorities, is 115 or 120 males to 100 females. There seems to be a discrepancy here, however; for, although there has been an increase in the percentage married, there has been a steady decrease in the number of males per 100 females in Texas from 110.3 in 1890 to 103.8 in 1930. It is, also, generally held that the percentage of young persons in a population affects the percentage married and that an increase in the percentage of young persons is likely to be accompanied by a decrease in the percentage married. Here, again, there seems to be a discrepancy, perhaps because of the widespread knowledge of the use of contraceptives, for, although the per cent of the population 15 years of age and over who are

under 30 years of age increased from 41.4 per cent in 1890 to 42.8 per cent in 1930, the percentage married also increased.

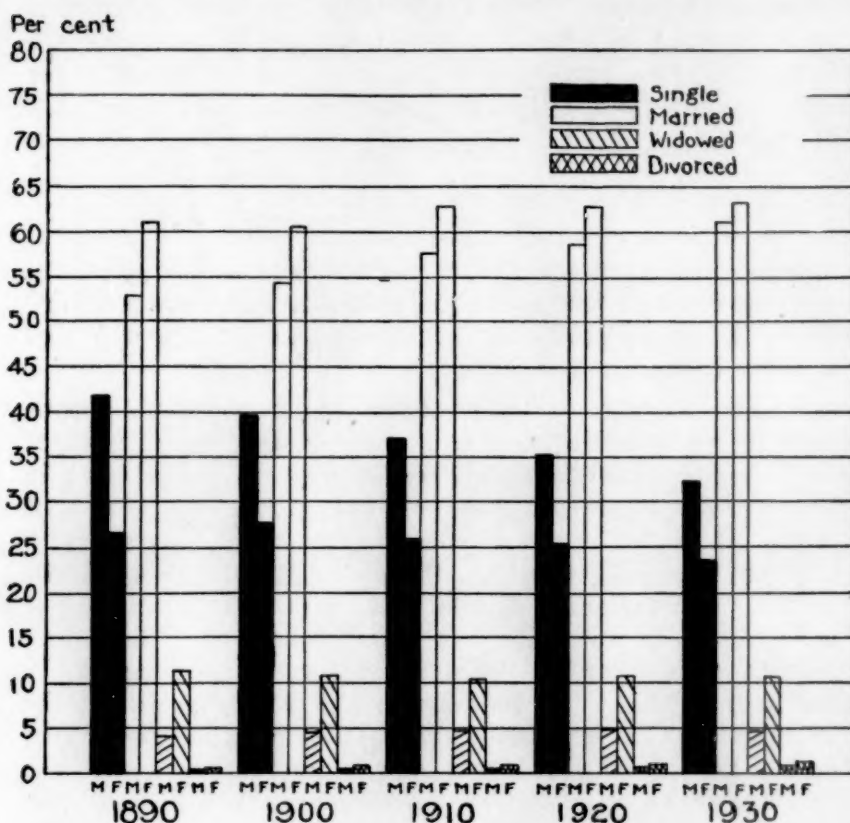


Fig1.-Percentage of the aggregate population 15 years of age and over in each marital condition, by sex, for Texas, 1890-1930

*Widowed.*—The figures for the widowed males and females show an even wider variation than one would usually expect. It is commonly stated that there are twice as many widows as widowers, but (using numbers as a basis for comparison) here there were more than  $2\frac{1}{2}$  times as many widows as widowers in 1890 and more than  $2\frac{3}{10}$  times as many in 1930. The underlying causes for this excess are said to be that widowers remarry



more often than widows, that men usually marry at later ages than women, and that women live longer than men. There has been a slight increase in widowers, from 4 per cent in 1890 to 4.6 per cent in 1930, while, on the other hand, there has been a decrease in widows, from 11.8 per cent in 1890 to 11.1 per cent in 1930. The 10.2 per cent recorded in 1910 shows the lowest percentage of widows during the forty-year period.

*Divorced.*—The ratio of the number of divorced males to the entire male population, over 15 years of age, has increased from .2 per cent in 1890 to 1.4 per cent in 1930. Similarly, for females there has been a steady rise, beginning with .4 per cent in 1890 and rising to 1.9 per cent in 1930. Thus it is seen that the divorced women exceed the divorced men. In 1930, the former represented 19 out of every 1,000 females over 15 years of age, and the latter 14 out of every 1,000 males over 15 years of age. The percentage of males divorced in 1930 was seven times as great as the percentage in 1890; while the percentage of females divorced in 1930 was not quite five times as great as the percentage in 1890.

*Comparison with the United States.*—A comparison of the latest marital condition figures for Texas with those for the United States as a whole is shown in Table 2.

Table 2.—Marital Condition of the Population in the United States and Texas, 15 Years of Age and Over, 1930

Location	Males				Females			
	Single	Married	Widowed	Divorced	Single	Married	Widowed	Divorced
United States	34.1	60.0	4.6	1.1	26.4	61.1	11.1	1.3
Texas	32.6	61.3	4.6	1.4	23.3	63.7	11.1	1.9

Upon comparing the figures in the table, it is observed that for both sexes there is a slightly smaller percentage of single persons in Texas than in the United States as a whole, and a slightly greater percentage of married persons. For both males and females, the percentage of widowed in Texas is identical with that of the United States as a whole. The percentage of divorced males in Texas is 1.4 per cent as compared with 1.1 per cent for the United States. The percentage of divorced females in Texas is 1.9 per cent as compared with 1.3 per cent in the United States.

As will be shown later in this article, it is the colored element in the population of Texas that is partially responsible for the high divorce rate.

## 2. *Native White of Native Parentage*

Since this particular class of native white of native parentage constitutes the greatest part of the total population, the discussion of it will, perhaps, be of more general interest than that of the other classes.

*Single.*—It will be seen from Table 3 and Figure 2 that the most significant trend, or tendency, shown by the data for this group of native stock is the steady decrease in the percentage of single men, from 42 per cent in 1890 to 32.9 per cent in 1930.

Table 3.—Marital Condition of the Native White of Native Parentage 15 Years of Age and Over, Classified by Sex, for Texas, 1890–1930

Year	Males				Females			
	Single	Married	Widowed	Divorced	Single	Married	Widowed	Divorced
1890	42.0	53.4	3.8	0.2	25.7	63.4	10.6	0.3
1900	40.5	54.9	4.0	0.2	27.2	62.3	10.0	0.4
1910	37.7	57.5	4.0	0.3	26.3	64.2	8.8	0.5
1920	35.8	59.0	4.2	0.5	25.9	63.8	9.5	0.7
1930	32.9	62.0	3.8	1.2	23.6	65.4	9.5	1.5

There has, also, been a decrease in the percentage of single women, but it has been very slight, from 25.7 per cent in 1890 to 23.6 per cent in 1930.

*Married.*—Accompanying the decrease in the percentage of single men of the native white group is an increase in the percentage of married men. The percentage of married men has risen from 53.4 per cent in 1890 to 62 per cent in 1930, while the change in the percentage of married women has been only slight, being 63.4 per cent in 1890 and 65.4 per cent in 1930.

*Widowed.*—The percentage of widowers has varied little in the forty-year period, being the same in 1930 as in 1890, namely, 3.8 per cent. On the other hand, the percentage of widows decreased from 10.6 per cent in 1890 to 9.5 per cent in 1930. At all the periods the per cent of both widows and widowers for this class was slightly lower than for the entire population. Using a number comparison for the 1930 period for this class, there were approximately  $2\frac{4}{10}$  times as many widows as widowers recorded.

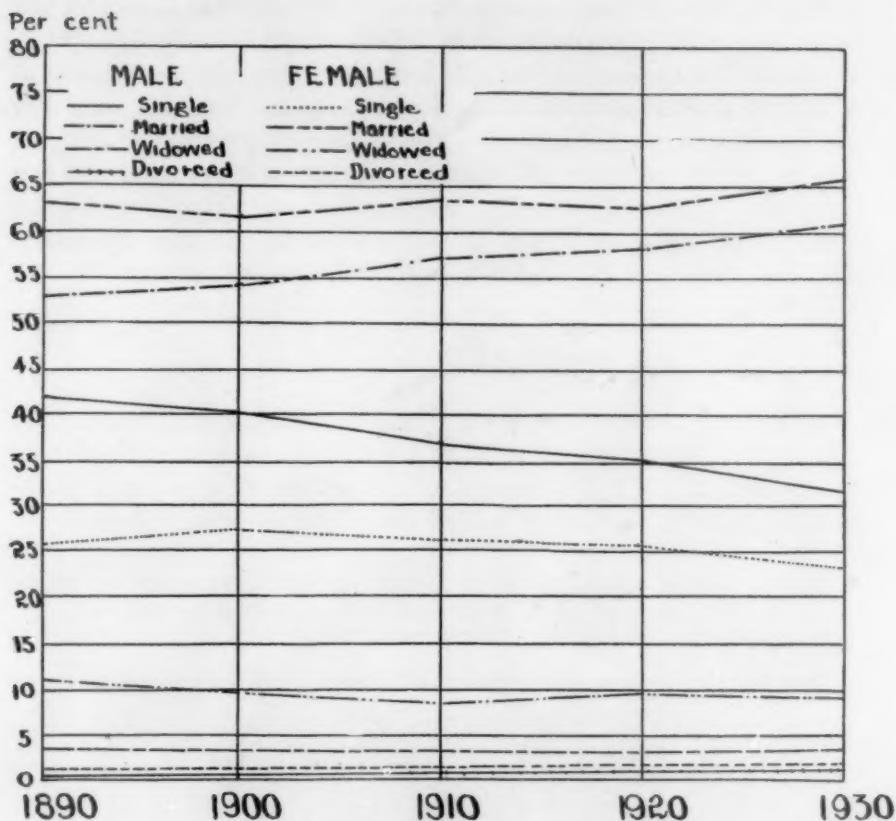


Fig. 2—The trend of the marital condition of the Native White of Native Parentage, 15 years of age and over, by sex, for Texas, 1890-1930.

*Divorced.*—A consideration of the divorced shows that for the males the percentage divorced had made a rise of only .3 per cent prior to 1930, from .2 per cent in 1890 to .5 per cent in 1920. But there was a decided rise from .5 per cent in 1920 to 1.2 per cent in 1930, showing a .7 per cent increase in the 10 years. Similarly, for the females the percentage divorced showed only a slight increase for the first thirty years of the period under consideration,

rising from .3 per cent in 1890 to .7 per cent in 1920. But in the next ten years it increased from .7 per cent to 1.5 per cent, or an increase of .8 per cent. The rise in the divorce rate for this class, while continuous, has not shown such a steady increase as it did for the aggregate population. At the time of greatest frequency of divorce, the native stock shows percentages .2 per cent less for men and .4 per cent less for women than do the corresponding percentages for all classes. An explanation for this variation may be found in the behavior of the colored element in the population.

### 3. *Native White of Foreign or Mixed Parentage*

*Single.*—By examining Table 4 and Figure 3, it will be observed that in the case of the native white of foreign or mixed parentage, the decline in the percentage of single males has been more marked than in the case of native white of native parentage.

Table 4.—Marital Condition of the Native White of Foreign or Mixed Parentage, 15 Years of Age and Over, Classified by Sex, for Texas, 1890–1930

Year	Males				Females			
	Single	Married	Widowed	Divorced	Single	Married	Widowed	Divorced
1890	59.9	37.7	2.1	0.2	42.8	51.4	5.5	0.3
1900	52.4	44.4	2.6	0.3	38.3	54.9	6.2	0.5
1910	47.2	49.3	2.8	0.4	35.9	57.1	6.2	0.6
1920	42.3	53.5	3.4	0.6	31.3	59.6	8.3	0.8
1930	31.6	63.4	3.7	1.2	24.4	63.6	10.5	1.4

The downward trend has been continuous from 59.9 per cent in 1890 to 31.6 per cent in 1930, a decline of 28.3 per cent. The corresponding decline in the native parentage group was only 9.1 per cent. As for the single females in the class under present consideration, the decrease has been from 42.8 per cent in 1890 to 24.4 per cent in 1930, a decrease of 18.4 per cent as opposed to a decrease of only 2.1 per cent in the native parentage group of single women. Here, as in the case of the native stock, the percentage of single males exceeds that of single females, though the excess is not quite so great.

*Married.*—It is significant that, while in 1890 the percentage of single persons of both sexes of the first generation Americans was greater than the percentage of married of the corresponding sex,



there has been a constant downward trend of the single group and a constant upward trend of the married to 1930, when the percentage of married exceeded the percentage of single by a much greater per cent than was the reverse excess in 1890. It is not the purpose of this study to suggest reasons for the trends in the different marriage status groups, but rather to show the change in marital composition of the population in the forty-year

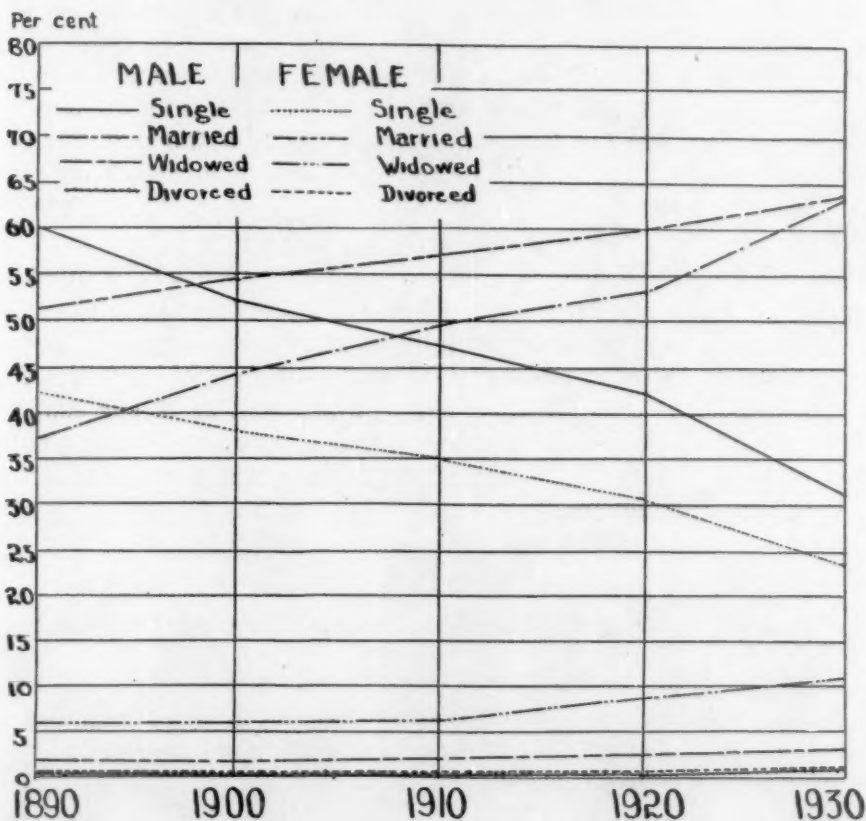


Fig.3.—The trend of the marital condition of the Native White of Foreign or Mixed Parentage, 15 years of age and over, by sex, for Texas, 1890-1930.

period and to show the condition as it was in 1930—the time of the last available data. However, it might be suggested that this decided decrease in the single groups and the corresponding decided increase in the married may indicate a changing of the former tendency of the children of immigrants to postpone marriage in order to better themselves in the social and economic scale. Then, too, it may be that the age composition of this group has changed so that there is now a larger number of middle age and older persons in the group.

*Widowed.*—In this class, there is a slightly lower percentage of widowed than among the native parentage group. Here, as there, however, there is the excess of the per cent of widows over widowers, and this per cent excess increased to a fairly marked degree from 1910 to 1930. The percentage of widowed females in 1890 was 5.5 per cent, widowed males, 2.1 per cent; in 1930, widowed females 10.5 per cent, and widowed males 3.7 per cent. With reference to a number comparison, there were 27/10 times as many widows as widowers in this class in 1930.

*Divorced.*—The percentage of divorced females exceeded the percentage of divorced males at each of the different time division periods, the excess at all times being .1 per cent or .2 per cent. The percentage divorced for either sex was not as much as 1 per cent until 1930, when the report shows 1.2 per cent for males and 1.4 per cent for females.

#### 4. *Foreign Born White*

The marital condition of the foreign white population is shown in Table 5 and Figure 4.

Table 5.—Marital Condition of the Foreign Born White, 15 Years of Age and Over, Classified by Sex, for Texas, 1890–1930

Year	Males				Females			
	Single	Married	Widowed	Divorced	Single	Married	Widowed	Divorced
1890	35.0	59.1	5.3	0.2	16.0	68.3	15.3	0.4
1900	28.1	63.8	7.2	0.4	14.8	67.4	17.0	0.5
1910	29.3	62.8	7.0	0.5	15.1	67.5	16.6	0.6
1920	31.2	60.7	7.1	0.4	18.8	63.6	17.0	0.5
1930	18.4	71.2	8.9	1.4	11.9	64.4	22.3	1.2

A study of this data shows the variations in the percentages of the population in each marital condition more uneven at different

periods than for either of the classes already discussed. In the other classes there was in almost every case either a constant increase or decrease. More irregularity is seen in the tendencies of the foreign born.

*Single.*—The percentage of single men decreased from 35 per cent in 1890 to 28.1 per cent in 1900, regained about one-half of this decrease in the following twenty-year period, and dropped in 1930 to its lowest level, namely, 18.4 per cent. There was a similar irregularity in the case of single women. The variation of the percentage of single women from 16 per cent in 1890 to 14.8 per cent in 1900 was slight, but the rise to 18.8 per cent in 1920 showed a somewhat greater tendency toward fluctuation. The lowest mark reached was that of 11.9 per cent in 1930.

*Married.*—The variations in the percentage of married males run along in line with those of the single—that is, with decreases and increases in the single came corresponding increases and decreases in the married, and in about the same proportions. The lowest percentage of married males was 59.1 per cent in 1890 and the highest was 71.2 per cent in 1930. This 71.2 percentage of married males in the foreign born class is the highest percentage of married in all the classes considered in this study. The percentage of married females decreased from 68.3 per cent in 1890 to 64.4 per cent in 1930. The per cent of married women in 1930 in this class is higher than for the same sex in any of the other classes. In 1930, the percentage of married men exceeded the percentage of married women by 6.8 per cent. This is the only instance in any of the classes at any period that the percentage of the married men exceeded that of the married women. The high percentage of married among this group is, no doubt, due partially to its age composition, for there are more mature and older persons among the immigrant group than young persons.

*Widowed.*—The percentage of widows in this class in 1890 exceeded that of widowers by 10 per cent. The excess remained almost constant up to 1920, but in 1930 it was increased to 13.4 per cent. As for the distribution based on a number comparison in these respective conditions, there were nearly  $2\frac{1}{2}$  times as many widows as widowers in 1930.

*Divorced.*—The divorce trend in this class up to the 1930 period is similar to that of the classes already considered. That is, the percentages were low in 1890 with an excess of about .1 per cent

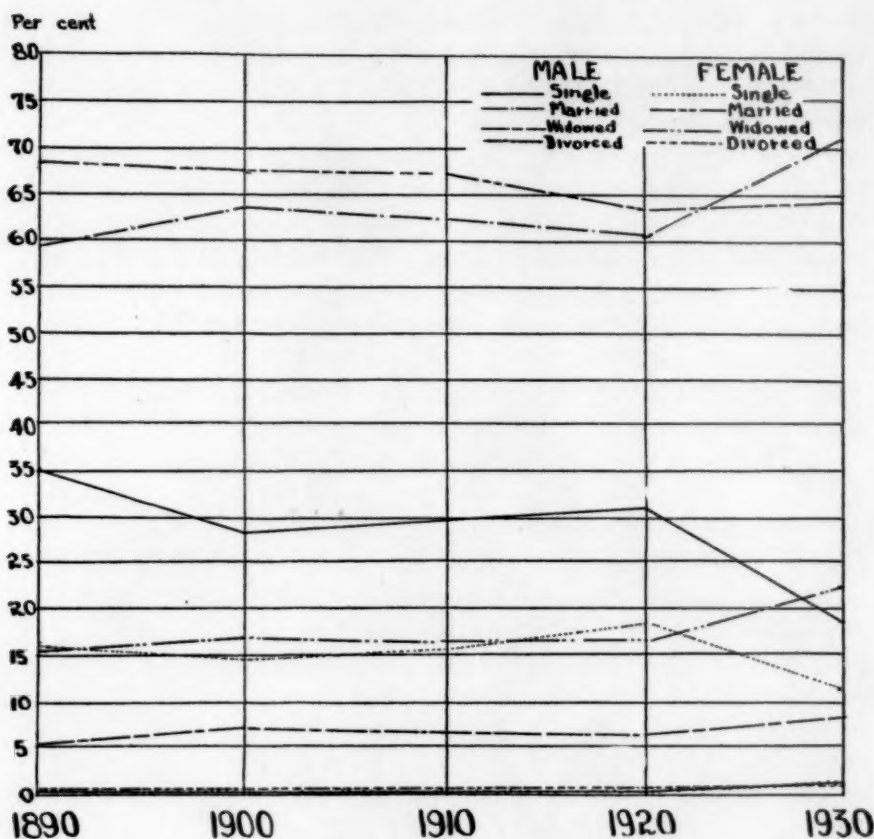


Fig. 4.—The trend of the marital condition of the Foreign Born White, 15 years of age and over, by sex, for Texas, 1890-1930.

of the percentage of divorced male over the percentage of divorced female. The divorce rates for this class, like those for the native stock and the children of immigrants, show a marked rise for 1930 over 1920. The rates for both male and female increased by only .1 per cent or .2 per cent each ten-year period up to 1920, but the 1930 figures show a 1 per cent rise in the case of males and a .7 per cent rise in the case of females. For the 1930 period the per cent of the males divorced exceeded that of the females—



the rates being, for men, 1.4 per cent and for women, 1.2 per cent. This is the only case in any of the classes at any period where the percentage of divorced men exceeded the percentage of divorced women.

### 5. *The Colored*

Table 6 and Figure 5 show the marital condition of the colored. It may be well to again call attention to the fact that this group includes not only the negroes, but in addition, those classified in the census as "All Others," and for 1930, the Mexicans.

Table 6.—Marital Condition of the Colored, 15 Years of Age and Over, Classified by Sex, for Texas, 1890–1930

Year	Males				Females			
	Single	Married	Widowed	Divorced	Single	Married	Widowed	Divorced
1890	39.1	55.5	4.4	0.5	27.6	55.9	15.3	1.0
1900	38.7	53.6	6.0	0.9	27.9	54.1	15.8	1.8
1910	34.8	56.8	6.6	1.2	25.1	57.8	14.5	2.2
1920	31.9	59.7	6.5	1.7	22.6	59.8	14.4	3.0
1930	33.6	58.0	6.3	1.9	23.1	59.3	14.2	3.2

*Single.*—The trends in the single group of both sexes showed a downward movement prior to 1920. Within the last date period of 1920 to 1930 there was an increase in the percentage of single persons of both sexes and, correspondingly, a decrease in the percentage of married persons of both sexes. This is the only class of the four being discussed in which there has been such a tendency shown. The variation in the per cent of single males was from 39.1 per cent in 1890 to 33.6 per cent in 1930, and for females it was from 27.6 per cent in 1890 to 23.1 per cent in 1930.

*Married.*—The percentage of married women in this class exceeds the percentage of married men, as is true in both the groups of native white. For the colored class, there was a downward trend in the rate of married males from 1890 to 1900, an upward trend from that year to 1920, and a downward trend again from 1920 to 1930. The percentage of married males in 1930 was 58. The trend in the rate of married females was like that of the married males. The percentage of married females in 1930 was 59.3.

*Widowed.*—As in all the classes, the per cent of widows exceeds the per cent of widowers. There has been a decrease of the percentage for widows from 15.3 per cent in 1890 to 14.2 per cent in

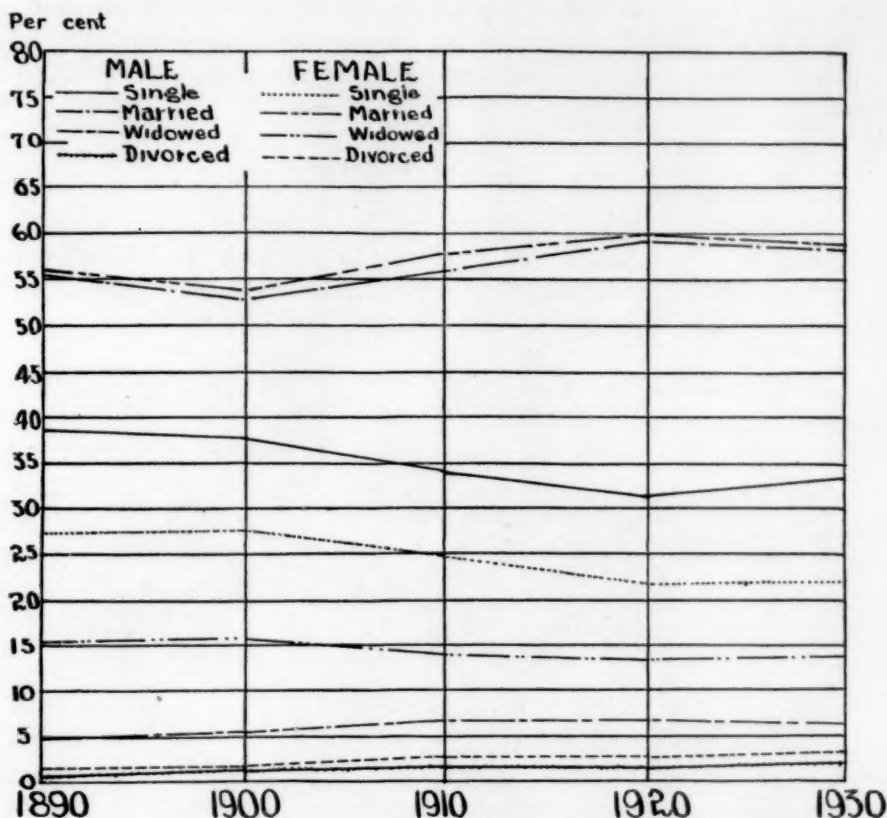


Fig. 5—The trend of the marital condition of the Colored, 15 years of age and over, by sex, for Texas, 1890-1930.

1930 and an increase of the percentage for widowers from 4.4 per cent in 1890 to 6.3 per cent in 1930. When the comparison is made according to number in 1930, it shows 22/10 times as many widows as widowers.

*Divorced.*—In this class, also, a steady rise in the divorce rate is evident. There was a more decided increase at each time division period than was the case in the white classes. The divorced colored women exceed the divorced colored men. For 1930, the per cent of divorced women was 3.2, and the per cent of divorced

men was 1.9. The divorced in each sex of the colored class exceeds at each time division period the divorced in the same sex among the white classes.

6. *Distribution of Persons in Each Marital Condition, by Sex, Nativity, and Color*

An examination of Figure 6, based on data for 1930, will reveal interesting facts about the proportion of the single, married, widowed, and divorced who are in each class. To give further meaning to this figure, it will be well to have in mind the percentage distribution of the total population, 15 years of age and over, in these four classes. Combining males and females, the distribution according to figures from the latest census is: native white of native parentage, 66 per cent; native white of foreign or mixed parentage, 7 per cent; foreign born white, 2 per cent; and colored, 25 per cent.

*Native White of Native Parentage.*—Approximately 66 per cent of the single and, also, of the married persons of both sexes are of the native white of native parentage class. The percentage of the widows and, also, of the widowers who are of this class is only about 55. In the divorced condition, about 56.3 per cent of the men and 50.8 per cent of the women are native white of native parentage.

*Native White of Foreign or Mixed Parentage.*—From 5 to 7 per cent of the males and, also, of the females in each marital condition belong to the native white of foreign or mixed parentage class.

*Foreign Born White.*—The percentage of the single persons who are of the foreign born white class is only slightly over 1 for each sex. 3.2 per cent of the married males and 2.2 per cent of the married females are of this class. The percentage of widowers who are foreign born white is 5.3, and the percentage of widows is 4.4. Of the total divorced of each sex, 2.7 per cent of the men and 1.3 per cent of the women are of the foreign born white class.

*Colored.*—These data pictured in Figure 6 show that it is the colored element—in other words, the negroes and Mexicans—of the population which constitutes about 25 per cent of the single persons of each sex in Texas, about 23 per cent of the married, approximately 35 per cent of the widowers, and 33 per cent of the widows. It is responsible for 35 per cent of the divorced men and 43 per cent of the divorced women.

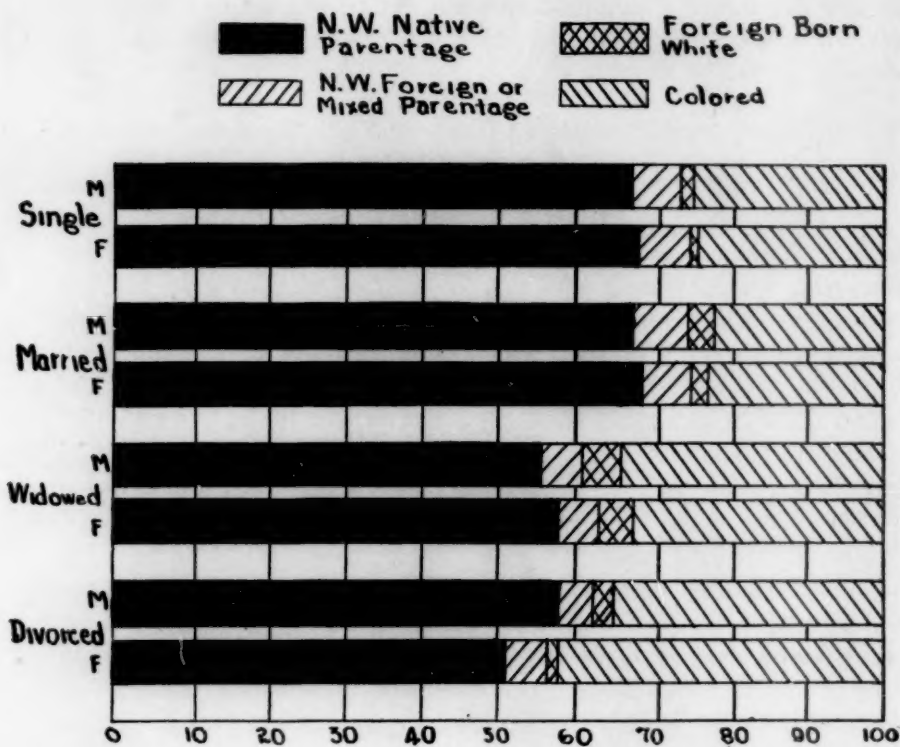


Fig. 6.- Percentage of persons 15 years of age and over in each marital condition, by sex, nativity, and color, for Texas 1930.

Of the single, married, and widowed persons the ratios of males and females are approximately the same for each of the four classes. On the other hand, the percentage of the divorced males who are of the native white of native parentage class is about 6 per cent greater than that of the females. And the percentage of the divorced females who are of the colored class is about 8 per cent greater than that of the males.

#### 7. Summary

The foregoing analysis of the marital condition of the population 15 years of age and over in Texas from 1890 to 1930 indicate



that the four classes, as designated in this investigation, follow somewhat the same pattern in their tendencies. It has been shown, however, that there are differences in the rates and regularity of the increases and decreases. On the whole this study of data on the marital condition may be summarized as follows:

1. There has been an increase in the proportion of the males and of the females of each class that is married, with the single exception of the females of the foreign born white class. Correspondingly, there has been a decrease in the proportion of both sexes that is single.

2. The proportion of widows and of widowers of each class has remained practically stationary during the last forty years, with two exceptions; namely, the rise in the proportion of widows in the native white of foreign or mixed parentage group and in the foreign born white group.

3. There has been a steady increase in the divorced persons of both sexes in all the classes of the population.

**SIXTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE SOUTHWESTERN  
SOCIAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION**

The sixteenth annual meeting of the Southwestern Social Science Association was held in the Biltmore Hotel, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, April 19 and 20, 1935. The program, corrected as far as possible, was as follows:

**FRIDAY, APRIL 19, 9:00 A.M.**

**Parlor A**

**Accounting and Business Administration Sections (Joint Session)**

**Chairman:** William F. Hauhart, Southern Methodist University.

*Accounting and Financial Control of Social Agencies*, Monroe S. Carroll, Baylor University.

**Discussion:** Frederick L. Ryan, University of Oklahoma.

*Position of Underlying Securities Under the Proposed Federal Holding Company Regulation*, W. B. Cole, University of Arkansas.

**Discussion:** W. K. Newton, University of Oklahoma.

*Economic Aspects of the Tennessee Valley Authority*, H. W. Blalock, University of Arkansas.

**Discussion:** H. H. Ferrin, Oklahoma Gas and Electric Company; Arthur B. Adams, University of Oklahoma.

**FRIDAY, APRIL 19, 9:00 A.M.**

**Agricultural Economics Section**

**Room 215**

**Chairman:** T. C. Richardson, Texas Farm and Ranch Publishing Company.  
*A National Cotton Policy*, A. B. Cox, The University of Texas, Bureau of Business Research.

**Discussion:** R. H. Montgomery, The University of Texas.

*Coördination of Federal and State Agricultural Programs*, A. B. Conner, Director, Texas Agricultural Experiment Station.

**Discussion:** D. P. Trent, Director Extension, Oklahoma A. & M. College.

*Correlation of Industrial and Agricultural Development*, Wm. C. Edwards, Secretary, Progressive Texans, Inc.

*Taxation; Status and Effect on Rural Life; New Legislation and Proposals*, C. O. Brannen, University of Arkansas; R. J. Saville, Louisiana State University; J. T. Sanders, Oklahoma A. & M. College; L. P. Gabbard, Texas Agricultural Experiment Station.

**Discussion:** Karl E. Ashburn, Southern Methodist University.

*Coördination of State and Federal Work in Soil Conservation*: General Discussion.

**FRIDAY, APRIL 19, 9:00 A.M.**

**Economics Section**

**Room 203**

**Chairman:**

**General Theme:** *Economic Security*

*Public Control of Stock Exchanges and Corporate Security Issues*, Paul Milam, University of Arkansas.

**Discussion:** Walter B. McFarland, University of New Mexico; Floyd Vaughan, University of Oklahoma.

*Economic Nationalism and Security*, Karl E. Ashburn, Southern Methodist University.

**Discussion:** Alpheus Marshall, Texas Christian University.

*Unemployment Insurance and Old Age Pensions*, John B. Ewing, University of Oklahoma (NRA Labor Compliance Officer).

**Discussion:** Edwin A. Elliott, Texas Christian University (Regional Director, National Labor Administration); M. K. Graham, Graham, Texas.

## FRIDAY, APRIL 19, 9:00 A.M.

## Government Section

Room 222

Chairman: R. J. Dangerfield, University of Oklahoma.

*National Planning: A Critical Examination*, Charles W. Pipkin, Louisiana State University.

Discussion: C. D. Judd, Texas State College for Women.

*Judicial Interpretation of the New Deal*, John Leek, University of Oklahoma.

Discussion: H. H. Guice, Southern Methodist University.

*American Foreign Policy Under the New Deal*, C. A. Timm, The University of Texas.

Discussion: R. J. Dangerfield, University of Oklahoma.

## FRIDAY, APRIL 19, 9:00 A.M.

## History Section

Room 226

Chairman: D. Y. Thomas, University of Arkansas.

*Activities of Early Argentine Agents in the United States*, Watt Stewart, Oklahoma A. & M. College.

Discussion: Alfred B. Thomas, University of Oklahoma.

*Anglo-American Relations and the Monroe Doctrine, 1823-1850*, T. H. Reynolds, Oklahoma A. & M. College.

Discussion: Lillian E. Fisher, Oklahoma College for Women.

*The Influence of the American Civil War on Industries Other Than Cotton as Revealed by the Procureur Reports*, Lynn M. Case, Rice Institute.

Discussion: H. A. Trexler, Southern Methodist University.

## FRIDAY, APRIL 19, 9:00 A.M.

## Human Geography

Room 227

Chairman: Edwin J. Foscue, Southern Methodist University.

*Relation of Population Density to Indices of Total Economic Production in Oklahoma, 1930*, Allen Belden, University of Oklahoma.*The Port of Prince Rupert, British Columbia*, John Q. Adams, University of Missouri.*The Geography of the American Merchant Marine*, R. L. Pollock, North Texas State Teachers College.*Typical Human Adjustments to Environmental Conditions in Caribbean America*, Sam T. Bratton, University of Missouri.

## FRIDAY, APRIL 19, 9:00 A.M.

## Sociology Section

Room 231

Chairman: W. P. Meroney, Baylor University.

*Chinese Immigrant Institutions and The Political Process in Hawaii*, Clarence E. Glick, The University of Texas.*Culture Patterning in Secret Society Ceremonials*, Noel P. Gist, University of Kansas.*An Impassé Between Science and Religion*, Arthur S. Emig, University of Missouri.*Mobility in Shawnee, Oklahoma*, Fred G. Watts, Oklahoma Baptist University.*Population Changes in Missouri with Particular Reference to the Negro*, Walter B. Bodenhafer, Washington University.

## FRIDAY, APRIL 19, 12:15 P.M.

Accounting, Agricultural Economics, Business Administration, Economics, Government, and Sociology Joint Luncheon Conference.

## East Ball Room

Presiding Officer: C. S. Potts, President of the Association.

Address: *Some Economic Considerations of the American Housing Problem*, N. H. Engle, Assistant Director of the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce.

Address: *Reconciling Jeffersonian Principles with the New Deal*, Robert K. Gooch, University of Virginia, Representative of the American Political Science Association.

**FRIDAY, APRIL 19, 12:15 P.M.**

**History Luncheon Conference**

**Room 207**

Presiding Officer: Leon F. Sensabaugh, Oklahoma City University.  
Address: *Ships of the Plains*, C. C. Rister, University of Oklahoma.

**FRIDAY, APRIL 19, 12:15 P.M.**

**Human Geography Luncheon Conference**

**Room 208**

Presiding Officer: Edwin J. Foscue, Southern Methodist University.

**FRIDAY, APRIL 19, 2:00 P.M.**

**Accounting, Business Administration and Government Sections (Joint Session)**

**Parlor A**

Chairman: Chester F. Lay, The University of Texas.

*Duties and Responsibilities of the Government, The Accountant and The Business Man under the New Deal*

*Duties and Responsibilities of the Accountant Under the New Deal*, Wiley D. Rich, Hardin-Simmons University.

Discussion: B. F. Harrison, Oklahoma A. & M. College; R. N. Tarkington, Northeastern Oklahoma Teachers College.

*Duties and Responsibilities of the Business Man Under the New Deal*, Joseph M. Klamon, Washington University.

Discussion: Floyd L. Vaughan, University of Oklahoma; C. V. Hall, East Texas State Teachers College.

*Duties and Responsibilities of the Government Under the New Deal*, C. A. M. Ewing, University of Oklahoma.

Discussion: Joe Ray, The University of Texas; A. L. Boeck, Texas Christian University.

**FRIDAY, APRIL 19, 2:00 P.M.**

**Agricultural Economics**

**Room 215**

Chairman: Clarence Roberts.

*Bases for Land Utilization Programs*, Orville J. Hall, University of Arkansas.

*Relation of Population to Land Utilization Planning*, T. Lynn Smith, Louisiana State University.

Discussion, two preceding papers: J. L. Watson, Texas Planning Board.

*Objectives and Activities of Texas State Planning Board*, M. C. Nichols, Chairman.

*Regional vs. National Adjustments*, C. A. Bonnen, Texas Agricultural Experiment Station.

*Essentials of a Permanent Regional Planning Council*, T. C. Richardson, Farm and Ranch.

**FRIDAY, APRIL 19, 2:00 P.M.**

**Economics Section**

**Room 203**

Chairman: Frederick L. Ryan, University of Oklahoma.

*Socialized Medicine*, Louis S. Reed, The University of Texas.

Discussion: Dr. Wann Langston, Oklahoma City; P. C. Kelley, University of Arkansas.

*Government Activity and Economic Security*, Arthur B. Adams, University of Oklahoma.

Discussion: E. E. Hale, The University of Texas (NRA Labor Compliance Officer).



## FRIDAY, APRIL 19, 2:00 P.M.

## History Section

## Room 226

- Chairman: Rupert N. Richardson, Hardin-Simmons University.  
*Montpelier Plantation of Charles Whitmore, Natchez, 1834-1864*, Mack Swearingen, Tulane University.  
*Barrow Plantation Records from West Feliciana Parish, Louisiana*, Edwin Adams Davis, Louisiana State University.  
*The Pugh Plantations on Bayou Lafourche, Louisiana*, Barnes F. Lathrop, Rice Institute.  
*Collection, Preservation, and Use of Ante-bellum Plantation Records*, Round Table led by Robert Cotner, Henderson State Teachers College.  
*Activities of the State Park Division of National Park Service in the Southwest*, William R. Hogan, Field Historian, National Park Service.

## FRIDAY, APRIL 19, 2:00 P.M.

## Human Geography Section

## Room 227

- Chairman: Sam T. Bratton, University of Missouri.  
*Land Utilization Problems in the Southwest*, Elmer H. Johnson, The University of Texas.  
*Human Adjustments to the Climatic Conditions of the High Plains of the Panhandle of Texas*, Darthula Walker, West Texas State Teachers College.  
*The Life and Works of Doctor Frank Carney*, Edwin J. Foscue, Southern Methodist University.  
*Acadian Ethnology: Material Culture on the Prairies of Southwest Louisiana*, Lauren F. Post, Louisiana State University.

## FRIDAY, APRIL 19, 2:00 P.M.

## Sociology Section

## Room 231

- Chairman: J. J. Rhyne, University of Oklahoma.  
*Sociology and Social Work:*  
*Sociological Aspects of the Present Depression*, Jerome Dowd, University of Oklahoma.  
*The Challenge to Social Work Offered by the Present Economic Crisis*, Grace Browning, Tulane University.  
*The Value of Psychiatric Knowledge and Training for Social Workers*, H. L. Pritchett, Southern Methodist University.  
*The Contribution of Sociology to Social Work*, Mabel Elliott, University of Kansas.  
 Discussion: Elmer Scott, Dallas Civic Federation; Mrs. G. France McCoy, Assistant Director of Social Service, E.R.A., Oklahoma.  
 Business Session and Election of Officers: W. C. Smith, William Jewell College, Chairman; O. D. Duncan, Oklahoma A. & M. College, Secretary.

## FRIDAY, APRIL 19, 4:15 P.M.

## Special Session

## East Ball Room

- Presiding Officer: C. S. Potts, Southern Methodist University.  
 A meeting of the Executive Committee, Advisory Committee, and Project Committee of the Regional Economic and Social Research Program. Report of progress of the regional research program will be made and future plans will be discussed. General membership invited to attend.

## FRIDAY, APRIL 19, 6:45 P.M.

## General Conference Dinner

## Main Ball Room

- Presiding Officer: C. S. Potts, President of the Association. Address: "The New Race for Armaments."  
 Address: Dean Roscoe Pound, Harvard Law School.

**SATURDAY, APRIL 20, 7:00-9:30 A.M.****Accounting Section Breakfast Meeting****Parlor A****Chairman:** Chester F. Lay, The University of Texas.**Symposium:** *Conditions and Problems of Accounting Education and Practice in the Southwestern States.***Texas:** H. D. Shepherd, North Texas State Teachers College, Secretary, Texas Association of University Instructors in Accounting.**Oklahoma:** W. K. Newton, University of Oklahoma.**Arkansas:** W. B. Cole, University of Arkansas.**New Mexico:** C. B. Wivel, Eastern New Mexico Junior College.**Louisiana:** James B. Trant, Louisiana State University.**SATURDAY, APRIL 20, 9:00 A.M.****Agricultural Economics and Rural Sociology Sections (Joint Session)****Room 215****Chairman:** Homer L. Williams, Park College.***Social Effects of Planned Production Programs,*** O. D. Duncan, Oklahoma A. & M. College.***Is Community Size An Index of Urbanization?*** Walter T. Watson, Southern Methodist University.***The Rural Church and the Community in West Texas,*** O. E. Baker, Simmons University.**Discussion:** Roberta Clay, John Tarleton Agricultural College.***A Broader Program for Community Organization,*** Daniel Russell, Texas A. & M. College.**Discussion:** T. C. Richardson.***The Rejected Stone in the Social Trinity,*** Dr. King Vivion, Southwestern University.**SATURDAY, APRIL 20, 9:00 A.M.****Business Administration Section****East Ball Room****Chairman:** R. D. Thomas, Oklahoma A. & M. College.***A Review of Consumption,*** Wilford L. White, Chief, Marketing Research and Service Division, Department of Commerce, Washington, D.C.**Discussion:** Edward L. Lloyd, Oklahoma A. & M. College; Karl D. Reyer, University of Oklahoma.***Some Factors Influencing the Retail Price of Staple Foods,*** F. A. Buechel, Bureau of Business Research, The University of Texas.**Discussion:** E. G. Smith, The University of Texas.***Agriculture as a Factor in the Business Cycle,*** Vane Smith, University of Wichita.**Discussion:** H. A. Handrick, The University of Texas.**SATURDAY, APRIL 20, 9:00 A.M.****Economics Section****Room 203****Chairman:** Jack Johnson, North Texas State Teachers College.***The Influence of Credit on Economic Security,*** James B. Trant, Louisiana State University.**Discussion:** A. S. Lang, Baylor University; Elgin Groselose, University of Oklahoma.***Monopoly and Economic Insecurity,*** R. H. Montgomery, The University of Texas.**Discussion:** William A. Black, San Antonio.**SATURDAY, APRIL 20, 9:00 A.M.****Government Section****Room 222****Chairman:** C. P. Patterson, The University of Texas.**Round Table:** *The Attack Upon the Problem of Local Government in the Southwest.*

*Arkansas:* Kenneth O. Warner, University of Arkansas.

*Kansas:* Hugo Wall, The University of Wichita.

*Louisiana:* R. L. Carleton, Louisiana State University.

*Missouri:* William L. Bradshaw, University of Missouri.

*Oklahoma:* Robert K. Carr, University of Oklahoma.

*Texas:* S. D. Myres, Jr., Southern Methodist University.

**SATURDAY, APRIL 20, 9:00 A.M.**

**Human Geography Section**

**Room 227**

Chairman: C. J. Bollinger, University of Oklahoma.

A field trip of Oklahoma City and its Environs, conducted by Professor Bollinger.

**SATURDAY, APRIL 20, 9:00 A.M.**

**History Section**

**Room 226**

Chairman: W. Darrell Overdyke, Centenary College.

*Mexican Oil and American Diplomacy*, Paul P. Young, Southwestern University.

Discussion: Emmett M. Landers, Hardin-Simmons University.

*Whig Expansionists in the Mexican War*, John D. P. Fuller, Texas A. & M. College.

*The Influence of the Texas Boundary Questions on the Compromise of 1850*, George R. Poage, Texas State College for Women.

Discussion:

*Protestant Missionary Activity on the Border of Texas and Mexico*, W. J. Hammond, Texas Christian University.

**SATURDAY, APRIL 20, 9:00 A.M.**

**Sociology Section**

**Room 231**

Chairman: L. L. Bernard, Washington University.

*Preliminary Survey Program of the Southwest*

*Family Composition Trends in Louisiana*, Alvin Good, Louisiana State Normal College.

*Mobility of Population in Louisiana*, Karl Shafer, Louisiana State University.

*Archaeological Resources and Research in Missouri*, J. Brewton Berry, University of Missouri.

*Distribution of Prominent Americans in the Southwestern States*, Mapheus Smith, University of Kansas.

*Sub-Regions and Population Trends in Kansas*, Carroll D. Clark, University of Kansas, and Roy L. Roberts, Technical Assistant, Kansas State Planning Board.

*Population Trends in Oklahoma*, O. D. Duncan, Oklahoma A. & M. College.

Discussion of Plans for the Southwestern Regional Social Science Survey.

**SATURDAY, APRIL 20, 12:15 P.M.**

**Business Luncheon**

**Main Ball Room**

Chairman: C. S. Potts, Southern Methodist University.

**SATURDAY NOON**

The sixteenth annual business luncheon and meeting was attended by about sixty members. President C. S. Potts presided at the business session. The usual order of business was followed, to-wit: Minutes of the Fifteenth Annual Business Meeting were read and were approved as read. The Secretary-Treasurer reported on membership and finances as follows:

**REPORT ON MEMBERSHIP, APRIL 1, 1932, TO APRIL 1, 1934****I**

	April 1, 1932	April 1, 1933	April 1, 1934
Life _____	1	1	1
Contributing _____	3	3	3
Sustaining _____	2	2	2
Active _____	333	323	334
	<hr/> 339	<hr/> 329	<hr/> 340

**II**

	April 1, 1935
Life _____	1
Sustaining _____	2
Contributing _____	3
Active _____	
1. Individuals (in good standing) _____	106
2. Individuals (in arrears) _____	96
3. Libraries _____	122
Total _____	<hr/> 330

**FINANCIAL STATEMENT FOR FIFTEENTH FISCAL PERIOD**

(Note: By action of the Fifteenth Annual Convention the Secretary-Treasurer was ordered to close his books as of January 31.)

**RECEIPTS:**

Balance, March 15, 1934 _____	\$ 267.06
Memberships _____	678.91
Reprints _____	96.70
Sale of Publications _____	44.50
Social Science Research Fund _____	325.89
Refund from Secretary for Convention _____	
Expenses (last meeting) _____	21.70

**DISBURSEMENTS:**

Printing, University Press _____	\$1,053.62
Postoffice Deposits _____	10.00
Stamps and Office Supplies _____	34.52
Convention Expenses (last year) _____	60.02
Clerical Help and Proof Reading _____	32.50
Miscellaneous (Hauling, Mailing Quarterly, Etc.) _____	4.79
Bank Charges and Warrant Interest _____	7.36
Balance on Hand, January 31, 1935 _____	231.95

**\$1,434.76    \$1,434.76**



## FINANCIAL STATEMENT

(Supplement)

Financial Condition of the Association as of April 15, 1935

## Outstanding Obligations:

Printing (University Press)

March (1935) *Quarterly* \$ 278.40

Programs and tickets for Oklahoma City Convention 38.85

\$ 317.25 \$ 317.25

Stenographic Bureau (stamps and supplies for

March, 1935) 21.46

\$ 338.71

Cash on Hand

209.33

Total Deficit

\$ 129.38

## Quarterly Printing Costs:

March, 1934 500 copies, 133 pp. @ \$2.40 \$319.20

June, 1934 500 copies, 111 pp. @ 2.40 266.40

September, 1934 500 copies, 84 pp. @ 2.40 201.60

December, 1934 500 copies, 90 pp. @ 2.40 216.00

\$1,003.20

## REPORT OF THE AUDITING COMMITTEE

To President C. S. Potts:

The Auditing Committee of the Association, after inspecting the accounts for the current fiscal period, reports that they are in proper condition.

(Signed)

F. HAUHART  
JACK JOHNSON  
HUGO WALL

## REPORT OF THE BOARD OF EDITORS

Dr. C. P. Patterson, Editor-in-Chief, reported for the Board of Editors. He called to the attention of the membership the precarious financial situation of the *Quarterly* due to the withdrawal of support by The University of Texas. A discussion of ways and means was deferred as a matter of new business.

## REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON NOMINATIONS

The Committee on Nominations, composed of Floyd L. Vaughan, Chairman; R. N. Richardson; W. C. Smith; C. V. Hall and Chester Lay, proposed the following officers for the Association for the coming year: President, A. B. Adams, Dean of the College of Business Administration, University of Oklahoma, Norman, Oklahoma; First Vice President, J. A. Burdine, University of Texas, Austin, Texas; Second Vice President, A. S. Emig, University of Missouri, Columbia, Missouri; Third Vice President, John Rydjord, University of Wichita, Wichita, Kansas; Elected Members of the Executive Council, H. W. Blalock, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, Arkansas; W. D. Rich, Hardin-Simmons University, Abilene, Texas. The report was accepted by those present, and President Potts declared the foregoing nominees duly elected.

## REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

The Committee on Resolutions, composed of C. O. Brannen, Chairman; L. L. Bernard, A. B. Adams, W. H. Stephenson, and Raymond D. Thomas, presented the following resolutions:

Whereas Dr. D. Y. Thomas, a former president and consistent member of this Association, on his way from Fayetteville to Oklahoma City to attend this meeting met with an automobile accident in which he and Mrs. Thomas were injured, be it therefore resolved that this Association through its secretary expresses to Dr. and Mrs. Thomas regrets for their injuries and their enforced absence from the meeting and, further, the hope that their injuries are not serious.

Whereas Dr. Frank Carney, Professor of Geology and Geography at Baylor University and for many years a distinguished member of this Association and to his field of work in the Southwest were outstanding and will be greatly missed by the Association and its membership, therefore, be it resolved that the Association use this means to express the deep regret of its membership for his untimely death, and further be it resolved that a copy of this resolution be transmitted by its secretary to the members of Dr. Carney's family.

## MISCELLANEOUS BUSINESS

The principal subject discussed at the meeting was the financial status of the Association. President-Elect Adams and Dr. C. P. Patterson emphasized the need of more members if the *Quarterly* is to be financed. Since The University of Texas has withdrawn financial support the *Quarterly* must be financed *en toto* from membership subscriptions. Based on the Secretary-Treasurer's report, the Association needs at least two hundred additional members. Steps were taken to initiate a vigorous membership drive.

It was moved, seconded, and carried that the members of the Program Committee serve also as a membership committee and that they be empowered, to aid them in their drive, to appoint sub-chairmen in the various educational institutions in the Southwest.

It was moved, seconded, and carried that the *Quarterly* be edited by an Editor-in-Chief and by a Board of Associate Editors, the latter to be composed of the individuals selected by the sections to serve on the Program Committee, these members to be recommended to the Executive Council for selection as Associate Editors.

It was moved, seconded, and carried that the Secretary-Treasurer drop those who have been carried on his books for longer than one-quarter in arrears. No one should be dropped without due notice.

It was moved, seconded, and carried that the Secretary-Treasurer be authorized to elevate delinquent members to good standing if they pay the subscription for the past year due and one year in advance.

It was moved, seconded, and carried that the President of the Association be instructed to take up negotiations with schools of the Southwest with regard to the publication of the proceedings of the meetings.

It was moved, seconded, and carried that the Association express its appreciation of the services of Dr. C. P. Patterson, Editor-in-Chief; Dr. J. Lloyd Mechem, Secretary-Treasurer; and the Department of Government of The University of Texas in promoting the publication of the *Quarterly*.

President A. B. Adams then declared the Sixteenth Annual Business Meeting of the Southwestern Social Science Association adjourned.

After the business meeting adjourned the Executive Council met to consider certain important matters with regard to the policy of the Association and of the *Quarterly*. The Council elected Dr. C. P. Patterson Editor-in-Chief of the *Quarterly*. Dr. J. L. Mechem was again chosen Secretary-Treasurer to serve the coming year. The following men were selected by the respective sections to serve on the Program Committee for the next annual meeting:

## Sections:

Accounting: B. F. Harrison, Oklahoma A. & M. College.  
Agricultural Economics: L. P. Gabbard, Texas A. & M. College.  
Business Administration: E. G. Smith, University of Texas.  
Economics: Floyd L. Vaughan, University of Oklahoma.  
Government: Hugo Wall, University of Wichita.  
History: G. R. Poage, Texas State College for Women.  
Human Geography: S. T. Bratton, University of Missouri.  
Sociology: O. D. Duncan, Oklahoma A. & M. College.

In accordance with the action of the business meeting indicated above, the members of the Program Committee are also to serve as a Membership Committee and also as associate editors of the *Quarterly*. Their nomination as Associate Editors was duly ratified by the Executive Council.

## BOOK REVIEWS

EDITED BY O. DOUGLAS WEEKS

*The University of Texas*

Holcombe, A. N., *Government in a Planned Democracy*. (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1935, pp. ix, 173.)

This is the second volume Professor Holcombe has contributed to the Social Action Series edited by Mr. Alvin Johnson. In it the author has given consideration to practical matters—not to visionary, Utopian theories. He proposes rearranging our present system of government so as to give more equal representation to capital, labor and management. In the existing system he believes it evident that the proletariat, which includes a clear majority of the American people, makes little showing in Congress compared with that demonstrated by the capitalist and intermediate classes. Labor has not fared so well as capital under our system of representative government. There is a need, as Professor Holcombe points out, for some sort of a trade council which will represent the collective interests of both industries and trades.

To meet this want the author states the New Deal in "the adoption of the N.I.R.A. was a logical step in the development of the system of representative government in the modern industrial state, none the less logical because actually accomplished under the pressure of a great emergency" (p. 69).

The interests of the middle class Mr. Holcombe apparently places first. He willingly admits that the representation of both capital and labor need further development, but that labor needs more governmental aid than does capital in order that a balance be maintained between the upper and lower classes, thus preserving the supremacy of the middle class. He seems to think that "government based upon the supremacy of the middle class is the kind which is most suitable for a planned democracy."

By a planned democracy Professor Holcombe does not mean a finished arrangement of governmental forms and practices that when once established are to be preserved for all times. What he does mean, is "a political system by means of which the American people can maintain the continuity of their organized existence between the present state of affairs and subsequent states of affairs" (p. 40). In a planned democracy, he stated, "the art of government will remain an empirical art, and its improvement will be an endless adventure."

Can democracy meet the new governmental requirements of a high-powered machine age? Most assuredly not unless it can be modernized. The backward state of the science of government is continually being compared with the advanced condition of modern technology. A high-powered motorized governmental system is needed today. The development of such a system demands a new profession Professor Holcombe believes—that of the public business man and the establishment of his proper position in the organization of the state.

The American people must develop an experimental attitude toward the art of government, a more welcoming state of mind toward attempts in



adaptation to meet changes and new environments. The author states that "one of the outstanding phenomena of the great depression has been the rediscovery by the American people of the value of the experimental attitude in politics" (p. 17). The political experimenter, however, is always in a most difficult position, for he can seldom afford to fail.

For President Roosevelt's plans and objectives Professor Holcombe has not prepared a brief. Frequently throughout the book the author cites cases where the administration has attempted to introduce a New Deal. To some of these experiments he gives an endorsement—to others his criticism is marked, stating wherein he believes both the principle and method might be improved.

The book is one which can be read with profit both by the government expert and the intelligent citizen regardless as to his view on the New Deal.

STUART A. MACCORKLE.

The University of Texas.

Haller, William, (Ed.), *Tracts on Liberty in the Puritan Revolution 1638-1647*, 3 vols. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1934, pp. xiv, 197, 339, 405).

The three volumes under consideration together constitute Number XVIII of the "Records of Civilization" series edited under the auspices of the Department of History, Columbia University. Volumes II and III contain facsimile reproductions of nineteen tracts bearing on the subject of liberty which were published from 1638 to 1647. Volume I is devoted to a "Commentary" by the editor. The particular tracts reproduced were selected by the editor because of their significance in the liberal discussion of the above-mentioned period and because they comprise "a connected series representative of the discussion as a whole." They are: John Lilburne's *A Worke of the Beast*, 1638; Robert Greville, Lord Brooke's *A Discourse opening the Nature of that Episcopacie, which is exercised in England*, 1641; Henry Parker's *Observations upon some of his Majesties late Answers and Expresses*, 1642; John Goodwin's *Anti-Cavalierisme*, 1642; William Walwyn's *The Power of Love*, 1643; Thomas Goodwin and others' *An Apologeticall Narration*, 1644; John Goodwin's *Geomaxia*, 1644; William Walwyn's *The Compassionate Samaritane*, 1644; Henry Robinson's *Liberty of Conscience*, 1644; John Lilburne's *A Copie of a Letter*, 1645; William Walwyn's *A Helpe to the right understanding of a Discourse concerning Independency*, 1645; Richard Overton's *The Araignment of Mr. Persecution*, 1645; John Lilburne's *Englands Birth-Right Justified*, 1645; William Walwyn's *Englands Lamentable Slaverie*, 1645; William Walwyn's *A Whisper in the Eare of Mr. Thomas Edwards* and his *A Prediction of Mr. Edwards his Conversion*, both published in 1646; Richard Overton's *A Remonstrance of Many Thousand Citizens*, 1646, and his *The Commoners Complaint*, 1647; and, finally, *To the right Honourable and Supreme Authority of this Nation, the Commons in Parliament Assembled*, 1647.

These tracts have been reproduced by the photo-offset process without enlargement or reduction. The original sizes of pages and widths of margins have not been preserved. Defects, blots, and discolorations of paper have been so far as possible removed. The first volume not only presents a general description of the debate in which the tracts are involved but makes

extensive references to other works not reproduced in the subsequent volumes. The originals used are to be found in the Thomason Collection in the British Museum and in the McAlpin Collection in the Union Theological Seminary. It may be added that several important tracts of the period are omitted because they are readily found in most libraries. There can be no doubt of the importance of the political literature of the Puritan Revolution in England in the development of modern liberal thought. It goes without saying, therefore, that the present editor has performed a great service to students of history and political thought in reproducing these tracts in their original form and in publishing the scholarly commentary which accompanies them.

O. DOUGLAS WEEKS.

The University of Texas.

Becker, Carl L., *Everyman His Own Historian*. (New York: F. S. Crofts & Co., 1935, pp. 325.)

This collection of seventeen essays, by one of the best known historical scholars of the United States, represents erudition at its best. They are essays, of varying length, upon problems of history and of government. They deal essentially with the modern Occident, but many of the observations are as dateless as truth itself.

The foremost of the American essays are those on Kansas, Henry Adams, Frederick Jackson Turner, and John Jay and Peter Van Schaack. Of these four, that on F. J. Turner, the man, the teacher, the analytical historian, is by far the best. Becker studied under the young Turner at the University of Wisconsin. He saw the Turner thesis unfolding in the mind of its founder. His appreciation of Turner is boundless, but he does not outwardly offer an evaluation of the Turner frontier thesis. Yet, by careful scrutiny of the content of his comment, one gets the impression that, for an interpretation of the democratic morés of the expanding West, Becker looks with favor upon Turner's interpretation. The essay makes a distinct contribution to American historiography.

Most of this interesting volume deals not so much with historical happening or interpretation as with the methodology of historical research. I do not intend to imply that it consists of rules for the criticism of sources or scientific formulae for the proper weighting of this or that bit of evidence. Rather, it is a discussion of the stuff of history, the philosophies of history. His criticism of the Marxist insistence upon economic determinism is a classic; and his essay on John Jay and Peter Van Schaack represents an unlabeled refutation of the Marxist doctrine.

Carl Becker is a fine student of American history and of the ideology of modern democracy, but he is at his best in moving through the forests of the XVII and XVIII century philosophy. Most historians depend primarily upon chronological tracing of history. Becker is inclined to the analytical method. With Locke, Rousseau, Helvetius, Diderot, Grimm, Turgot, Condorcet or Madame Roland, he is in the company of old and trusted friends. In order to understand the history of the United States, he has generously grounded himself in the great intellectual development that ended in the coronation of Reason, for better or for worse. It was the wedding of a

facile mind to an optimistic dialectic. Yet he has not followed it to the sheer skeletonism of extreme rationalism. There is more flesh and blood in history than one would infer from the highly intellectualized metaphysics of, say, the English utilitarians. Becker uses the natural rights cornerstones, then, to interpret the tangled skein of history. It serves as an illumination of the external aspects of documents. It gives a warmth, an understandableness to history. There is no fetish, no ostentatious worship of documents. It represents a distinctly upward development in the so-called scientific historical era; and with more workers of Becker's calibre, we shall happily witness the minimization of the Teutonic blast, as Philip Guedella characterizes it, that blew across the plain of American historical writing.

CORTEZ A. M. EWING.

University of Oklahoma.

Stephenson, Wendell Holmes, *Alexander Porter: Whig Planter of Old Louisiana*. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1934, pp. 154.)

Among the Irish refugees who came to the United States following England's suppression of the Revolution of 1798 was Alexander Porter, a boy of sixteen, whose father, a Presbyterian minister, had been executed for a minor part in the rebellion. Porter lived with an uncle in Nashville, studying law and getting acquainted with the frontier, until 1809, when he struck out down the Mississippi to seek his fortune in the new territory of Louisiana.

The predominant French-Spanish population was still sullen toward the political control of the United States, and every newcomer was greeted with suspicion. Because, however, of his naturally pleasant and sincere manner, Porter was able to overcome their prejudices, and the rise of his fortunes was amazingly swift. Within fifteen years he had become financially secure for life and had established himself as a political power. In 1811 he was a member of the convention that framed the first constitution for the state of Louisiana; from 1816 to 1818 a member of the legislature; 1821-1833, a justice of the state supreme court; and from 1833 to 1836 he crowned his career with a term in the United States Senate. As a jurist Porter was best known for his studies in private international law, and as a senator for his defense of the United States Bank.

Porter was hardly a typical Whig planter—his intelligence was far superior to the average plantation owner and his political duties allowed him little time to direct his large holdings—but he was an interesting representative of the aristocratic class so important in the *ante bellum* South. As such he deserves the careful treatment Professor Stephenson has given him. It is to be regretted that so little of Porter's correspondence has survived because the flesh-and-blood characterization, which would have made the biography so much more valuable to students interested in social history, never materializes.

As Professor Stephenson himself says, the history of Louisiana is practically virgin soil. Any careful work in the field is to be welcomed, but this present study is particularly valuable in that it covers the first thirty years of statehood, the most obscure period of all. While the monograph is not intended to be a general history of the period, all students of pre-War

Louisiana will find it an excellent introduction to the available source materials.

IKE H. MOORE.

The University of Texas.

A. E. Buck, *The Budget in Governments of Today*. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1934, pp. v, 349.)

In 1929 Mr. A. E. Buck published a volume called *Public Budgeting*, whose subtitle, "A Discussion of Budgetary Practice in the National, State and Local Governments of the United States," revealed its general nature. The book was immediately successful and is accepted to this day as one of the very best books on budgeting yet put into print. The present volume is a worthy companion to its predecessor; it adds to its author's reputation as one of the most careful and most thorough students of budgeting of the present day.

Unlike the first volume, the second is not limited in geographical scope. On the contrary, Mr. Buck takes the world for his stage, roaming over its face to draw countless illustrations and instances from such far-flung governments as those of Great Britain, France, Germany, the United States, the countries of Central Europe, Russia, Japan, and Australia. Nor does he limit his discussion to national governments. In short, the book deals with budgets wherever found. Students of Japanese or French government will not find a detailed discussion of the budget practices of either country in this volume; but students of budgeting will find an excellent treatise of that subject enriched by reference to many and diverse systems.

In organization the discussion cuts across the field horizontally, treating, after the necessary preliminary remarks, of such matters as the rôle of the executive and the legislature in budgeting, the formulation, authorization, and execution of the budget, the budget as a financial plan, and accountability for the plan as executed. These topics are developed by reference to the practices of the various countries and jurisdictions mentioned earlier. Contrary to what might be feared, if not expected, the plan of the volume is developed with a coherence which, in view of the geographical (and frequently the procedural) diversity of the illustrative data, is little short of remarkable.

Of particular interest to American readers is Chapter X, which deals with "The Outlook for the Budget in the United States." Here the author finds in our system of government certain handicaps to the development of an adequate budget system. Chief among these are our rigid federal structure, the familiar separation of powers, the bicameral legislative system, and the lack of party responsibility. Certain suggested adaptations which he believes would be conducive to improvement are the extension of executive authority in budgeting, a more coöperative spirit between executive and legislature in budget making, the readjustment of legislative organization and procedure, the correlation of self-supporting enterprises with "ordinary" governmental activities for budget purposes, administrative reorganization which would facilitate executive control, and legislative enforcement of accountability on the part of the executive. It is evident that while American budgets are not the worst in the world, they are not the best, and that we have a good deal to learn about budgeting.



In *The Budget in Governments of Today*, the author undertook an extraordinarily difficult task. It is a high tribute to him, therefore, that he has performed this task quite satisfactorily. The twenty page bibliography and the excellent index ought not to pass unmentioned. The student of public finance and the intelligent citizen as well will thank Mr. Buck for this volume.

ROSCOE C. MARTIN.

The University of Texas.

Gist, Noel P., and L. A. Halbert, *Urban Society*. (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1933, pp. xv, 724.)

As social scientists these writers undertake the task of placing the city and city life under a microscope and analysing it much as a worker in the natural sciences might proceed. But they go further and seek to discover what the city and its ways of life mean and may mean, now and in the future, to our civilization. That is, they feel that the work of the sociologist does not end in understanding; he must also take part in direction.

Their conclusions are well worth study, supported as they are by voluminous materials from thinkers of the past and present. In America, at least, they feel there is no escaping urbanization whether we like it or not; that urban-rural birth rates will reach a balance in which the city will take the surplus rural population; that medicine may decrease urban morbidity and mortality; but that urbanism will increasingly become characterized by mass psychology in which we will observe the paradox of conflict and collectivism increasing together; that the depression has shown how easy such an organization, and the culture dependent upon it, may be tumbled because of inadaptability. The polynucleated city offers the best probable defense against such a fate, they hold. Finally, "... the best intellects that can be mustered will be needed ..." to determine whether our urban civilization shall go the way of that of Rome or shall reach new achievement in the history of the world. Thus, they end on exactly the note struck in 1891 by Lyman Abbott, in the introduction to Helen Campbell's *Darkness and Daylight*, "What shall we do with our great cities? What will our great cities do with us? ..."

The book under review is designed as a text for college use. The broad sweep of the discussion and the style in which it is written and printed fit it for such use. The quoted materials and references also make it valuable as a reference book for quickly locating points of view regarding urbanism. In addition to a full index of authors and content, there is an index of cities mentioned which adds to the latter use suggested.

HARRY E. MOORE.

University of North Carolina.

Barton, J. T., *A Revenue System for Texas Cities*. (Austin: The University of Texas Press, 1935, pp. 93.)

Mr. Barton opens his monograph with a general discussion of the problem of municipal revenue which Texas cities, in common with others, are facing. The specific problem is how to increase the income of cities to meet the rising costs of government, when he pointedly observes, "cities have had relegated

to them only the source of revenue most difficult of collection" (p. 10), and in the face of steadily narrowing sources of revenue. He follows this introduction with five chapters entitled "The Ad Valorem Tax," "Receipts from Municipally Owned Utilities," "Licences and Occupation Taxes," "Other Sources of Current Municipal Revenue," and "Special Assessments," in which he considers the various aspects of this problem in greater detail. He closes with a chapter on "A Revenue Program" in which, as he states in his introduction, the objective is that ". . . of presenting suggestions which may be of immediate use to practical administrators of municipal affairs" (p. 11).

The discussion concerns itself with an analysis of the practices in 10 per cent of the cities in Texas, and suggestions for the improvement of tax procedure. Though the bulletin is written in a restrained and tactful manner, the author does not hesitate to point out certain weaknesses in procedure. Thus he notes that the "officials of Texas cities often follow the practice of basing their budgets on anticipated receipts rather than on expected expenditures." And, while observing that an increased property tax rate may "result in an actual decrease in the income collected," such result ". . . is dependent somewhat upon the extent to which this tax has been exploited by past administrators."

Starting with the assumption that "Every individual receiving the benefits of city government should make some contribution toward its financial upkeep" (p. 76), Mr. Barton would: defray the costs of all municipal utility services (including sewerage, for which 67 per cent of the cities levy no serious charge) by charges upon those enjoying the service; discontinue the use of utility profits to reduce taxes; increase the use of special assessments for making improvements; let the share of the improvements borne by the city be indicative of the benefit sustained by the taxpayers as a whole; and base the charges for occupational license fees upon the cost of the regulated business to the government. He clearly presents the possibilities for increased revenues from often neglected sources (*e.g.*, utility franchise taxes, charges for building permits, state tax refunds, etc.). He disapproves fines and forfeits as sources of income instead of a method of regulation. Finally, we note that municipal officials prefer locally shared taxes to grants of aid from the state.

This report is tactful, and, in the main, good. However the manner in which it is presented might be somewhat improved. The use of italics for the topic sentences is to be commended. Unfortunately, however, these key sentences do not always adequately summarize what follows; indeed, at times they are misleading because whereas some of them set out what the practices are, others mildly suggest what the practice ought to be. This lack of uniformity in purpose of the italics might be disconcerting to the reader, since he is nowhere prepared for it by the author. Also the author does not always distinguish clearly enough between his own suggestions for improvement and those of the municipal officers.

While written primarily for finance officers, anyone interested in government finance will find "A Revenue System for Texas Cities" intelligible and well worth reading.

HUGO WALL.

University of Wichita.

Ginsberg, Eli, *The House of Adam Smith*. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1934, pp. viii, 265).

Adam Smith, like Aristotle, established a system of thought. The sad features of this fact are that both men were quoted to sustain arguments that would have been as acceptable to them as a diet of nux vomica. The author has sought to open the windows and let the light of knowledge drive out the spurious germs of the latter-day individualists. He resurrects the antitheses of the late XVIII Century and Adam Smith, a well-meaning but not overly courageous academic, moves across that drear landscape without great ado. To modern individualists, or some of them, Smith, walking close to God, saw a fire in the Scottish heather or witnessed a lazy cloud as it passed over the Firth. That was revelation, and who can refuse to approve an announced preference upon the part of that high authority?

I heartily endorse the ambition of Mr. Ginsberg. None, except the obfuscationists, will object to the application of knowledge to an existing ideology. His description of life, labor and economic theory of Adam Smith's Great Britain is graphically and faithfully done. The Scottish economist sought to destroy the monopolistic character of English mercantilism. His intellectual descendants are using him to uphold modern monopoly. Death is the vehicle of such impotence!

There is an easy explanation to this absurd misinterpretation of the Scottish intellectual. The reaction against the privilege and exploitation of the mercantilist system was sufficient to birth Smith, Ricardo and the Mills. That reaction was, unfortunately, one of principle. It was not greatly different from the XVII reaction against the abuse of political power. The way to destroy the misuse of power was to destroy power. Democracy, or its ideology, emerged in the philosophies of the social compact writers. Weak government came into existence. Our own Jefferson is a good example of the proponent of weak government. Yet, ultimately, and it is now upon us, such a theory was to bring forth a situation that was even more despicable than the one that it sought to correct. So Smith's *laissez faire* system bred a condition in which *laissez faire* could not function. If some power is not employed to prevent monopoly, how can monopoly be prevented, and especially when the only theoretical protection lies in that illusory phenomenon that we know as the ethics of man?

CORTEZ A. M. EWING.

University of Oklahoma.

Woody, Carroll H., *The Growth of the Federal Government: 1915-1932*. (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1934, pp. xiii, 577.)

This volume, one of the series of studies published under the direction of the Research Committee on Social Trends named by President Hoover in 1929, presents a detailed account of the growth of the civil activities of the national government from 1915 to 1932.

Through 540 pages the author records the growth of administrative activities, beginning appropriately with General and Financial Administration. In the case of each agency there is a statement of the activities performed at the beginning of the period, a list of the duties added during the period of years, and an attempt to measure the development in activities.

Statistical tables show the expanse in expenditures, in personnel, and in number of actual administrative operations performed.

This part of the book is not interpretative; it is merely a record of change. Such a record, in convenient form, complete and concise, is, of course, of inestimable value. And, as the author says, the "plain record of change . . . speaks loudly for itself."

The final chapter of conclusions remains, however, the interesting portion of the book. The chief of these conclusions may be briefly noted. The author finds that "of the increases in federal costs . . . about seven-tenths, may be ascribed to the increased cost of war, past, present, and future, and only about three-tenths to the support of civilian activities." And only about 40 per cent of the increase in civil expenditures was due to new activities undertaken by the government. Of this increase about half could be ascribed to fields in which the device of grants-in-aid was employed. The greatest expansion in civil expenditures was in the activities designed to control or promote commerce and industry. On the other hand, there was a decline in the proportion of civil expenditures devoted to public improvements.

The record of change to 1932 is impressive. At the present time, however, interest will revolve around the developments in administrative activity since 1933. To these developments the author's inquiry did not extend, though he did include brief notes on a few of them.

EMMETTE S. REDFORD.

The University of Texas.

Commons, John Rogers, *Myself*. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1934, pp. x, 201.)

Despite the countless thousands, maybe millions, who are enrolled under that discipline, there are in reality very few great teachers. If one were asked to compile a list of those who have left their imprints indelibly impressed upon future generations, the number would not be great. There are, fortunately, some exceptions to this prevailing rule, and one of the most notable is that of John Rogers Commons, who for thirty years has taught famously at the University of Wisconsin. I shall admit immediately that I am prejudiced for, as a student under him, I came to look upon him as a teacher radically different from the usual yellowed-notes incumbent of the endowed chair. John R. Commons sought something that was not to be found in mere scholasticism. Perfumed quotations and funny stories were mere artifice in the technique of entertainment. That was not teaching; and it did not represent scholarship. And if one seeks a splendidly organized lecture, I warn him that he had better not attend one of "John R's" classes. For instead, he will find there brilliant disorganization of material, exceeded only in confusion by the cataloguing victories of some of our leading libraries.

"Myself" is Commons' story of seventy years. With all too much modesty, he recalls his own lack of courage, his ejection for radicalism from three universities. The chair of sociology was pulled out from under him at Syracuse. It was there he learned that capitalism and not religion dominated American universities. After his dismissal, he went down into the cave of



the world and of men and lived among workers, immigrants and capitalists. Here were born the first principles of his *Institutional Economics*, a pragmatic approach featuring obligation, debt, the withholding of capital and many other of the practices that have come to distinguish banker from merchant capitalism. These ideas, now coming from the press in the form of a book, represent the product of more than thirty years of close contact with employees and labor. More than any other teacher, "John R." saw that American capitalism was evolving into an entirely different system from that which the text-books described. He was a pioneer on the intellectual frontier, always interviewing, always collecting experiences, even from little children. This intimate volume represents, therefore, the autobiography of a philosophy, and especially of *Institutional Economics*.

There is both pathos and understanding in this chemical analysis of his philosophy. He finds himself a communist to the capitalists, and a capitalist to the revolutionary socialists. And he has earned both titles, for he has refused to swallow wholesale the half-truths of propagandists of both sides. Alongside the story of the development of his philosophy, there runs a counter plot that is far from optimistic about the future. Bitter days are ahead—probably Fascism!

CORTEZ A. M. EWING.

University of Oklahoma.

Gil, Luis Enrique Azarola, *Los Origenes de Montevideo, 1607-1749*. (Buenos Aires: Roldan y Cia., 1933, pp. 287.)

Montevideo is the fourth largest city in South America and it is one of the oldest, its earliest history going back to the very beginnings of the seventeenth century. Its foundation was seasoned with the romance of the conquistadores. It is this early history of exploration, settlement, maritime adventure and illicit trade, conflict between Spanish and Portuguese, and finally the stabilization of this port on the "Banda Oriental" that Azarola Gil, Uruguayan minister to Argentina, tells in one of the most fascinating of historical reconstructions. The author is a well known literary figure and social historian in South America, and he therefore sets the stage for his narrative with the most interesting scenery and carries it through with the aid of actors well-displayed. Besides the story of the conflict between the two great Iberian nations (Spain and Portugal) for the region, the author gives a vivid picture of the types of men (largely from the Canaries) who first settled the region and town, their ideas of industry and of their future, their aims, their labors, their law making, and their government and fortification of the city. Fifty documents add certitude to interest in this narrative of the first quarter century of the history of the city.

L. L. BERNARD.

Washington University.

Hathaway, Marion, *The Migratory Worker and Family Life*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1934, pp. xiv, 240.)

With the advent of the automobile there has developed a new type of transient problem. Whereas formerly the dominant type of transiency was that of the detached single man, more recently with the coming of the automobile the transient pattern has shifted from the individual hobo to a

family group. Cheap transportation and good roads have made it possible for family groups to cover great distances, whether in search of work or for the satisfaction and thrills afforded by the open road. Seasonal industries have tended to accentuate the problem.

Professor Hathway's book is a study of a cross section of a transient family group engaged for the most part in the harvesting of fruit in the state of Washington. Detailed data concerning the composition of the transient family are given, affording a vivid picture of the transient family group. In addition to the statistical data presented, a generous use of cases adds very materially to the presentation of the problem. The disorganization visited upon the transient family in the present economic crisis is an additional valuable feature of the book.

The volume should prove especially valuable to social workers dealing directly with transient groups as well as to the layman who is seeking material that will present a balanced consideration of the transient problem.

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#### BOOK NOTES

*German Election Administration* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1934, pp. 71) is the most recent contribution of Professor James Kerr Pollock to the subject of European politics. The election system which he describes was established under the Weimar Constitution and operated from 1918 to 1933. This does not mean that it is obsolete, for it has continued to serve the Third Reich in a modified form and will, in the author's opinion, "form the basis of future election machinery." The study prepared from first-hand observations, is clearly and concisely written. It is enriched by tables of election statistics and illustrations of registration cards and ballots. The monograph deals with the national control of elections, registration, polling places, nomination procedure, election day procedure, election contests, the election of November 12, 1933, and the operation of proportional representation. Mr. Pollock presents many interesting features and conclusions. The German election system is efficiently organized, a reflection on the expertness of the central bureaucracy which is responsible for the entire organization. Registration methods, as well as elections, are "inexpensive, convenient to the voter and free from fraud." A system whereby service as an election official is compulsory but non-compensatory has created an experienced group of officials of high calibre. Election costs are strikingly low; Germany can handle a national election of thirty million votes for a cost of about one cent per vote, a marked contrast to the expensive elections of this country. The German system of proportional representation has been only "a qualified success," though the defects are attributable to detailed provisions rather than to the basic theory of proportionality. As a whole, the German election system compares most favorably with that of other countries.

L. E. A.

James Weldon Johnson's *Negro Americans, What Now?* (New York, The Viking Press, 1934) is a treatise on the problems of the present day negro by a member of his own race. The little book is best characterized by the

author's own words: "In what I have said I have sought to avoid being either academic or lyric. I have spent no time with analyses of the psychology of race prejudice. I have suggested no quick or novel cure-all, for there is none. There is no one salient to be captured; our battle is along a wide front. What I have outlined is a plan for a long, hard campaign." To those of us in the South, who take the negro in his subordinated position, as a matter of course, the approach of this author is highly revealing. Most of us, looking at the negro as we think he is, never realize the existence of such opinions as are expressed in this work. The author phrases briefly the problems of the negro along the whole front of his life and relationships, and then advises his race on the way out of that particular problem. His recommendations are sane, moderate, and yet, withal, he betrays a burning zeal to bring negroes to "the point where we can enter the race, not handicapped back of the line, but starting from scratch." Although the author professes to address his remarks to his own race rather than to whites, it would seem that it would require someone above the usual education-level of the negro to appreciate the full worth of the volume. As an example of his suggestions; "The wise course for Negro Americans in the South to follow will be to go into the Democratic primaries as rapidly as they are able. . . . In the North and West, Negro Americans should endeavor to maintain political independence. They should vote for Republicans or Democrats or Socialists or Communists, as they think best." J. M. R.

To the average scholar of the United States, the great islands of the East Indian group mean little more than the excuses given for the original exploration voyages of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and they are regarded today as little more than tropical islands inhabited by backward people. Most citizens of the United States, would be shocked to know that there are more people in the Philippines alone than there is in all New England. These same persons would regard as impossible the fact that the Dutch East Indies alone, have more than one-half the population of the entire United States. More than sixty million people, chiefly of Indian and Chinese origin, inhabit those highly productive islands. The whole attitude of the Dutch government has changed within the last half century in regard to the future of these people. An ambitious educational system has been organized. This system has been briefly outlined in the joint work of E. R. Embree, Margaret Simon, and W. B. Mumford in *Island India Goes to School*, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1934, pp. 119). This educational system is especially complex, rendered so by the fact that three languages are involved and two or three ultimate purposes of the educative process. The greater portion of the native youths is being prepared for improved agricultural vocations. A second group looks forward to positions in the islands' government bureaucracies. A third group is being prepared for higher education on the continent of Europe. From this little book one may get a very good impression of the manner in which the whole educational system operates.

C. A. M. E.

In *Canadian Anti-Trust Legislation* (Baltimore: Williams & Wilkins Co., 1934, pp. vii, 105) John A. Ball has given a concise, careful, and inclusive survey of the experience of the Canadian government in the treatment of

the "trust" problem. Each successive development in policy and administrative method is clearly portrayed and, equally significant, the practical results in each stage of the development of policy are adequately considered. The main objective of the author was to show the background of and experience under the Combines Investigation Act of 1923. This act and its antecedent, the act of 1910, were based on the ideas, so clearly stated by Mr. King, first, of attack on the abuses rather than the existence of combination, and second, of investigation and publicity as the chief method of control. The expedient devised was a method of investigation by specially selected commissioners to determine whether a particular combine had operated or was likely to operate "to the detriment or against the interest of the public." Mr. Ball believes that the Combines Investigation Act has been a successful venture in governmental control, and he arrives at this conclusion after a consideration of every case decided under the act. Some might think, however, that Mr. Ball has been over-solicitous concerning the dangers of interference with business in his defense of the failure to give publicity to most of the proceedings under the act. And some might think, also, that more extensive and continuous governmental supervision than occasional investigation, with or without publicity, supplemented by possible criminal action, will be needed in future treatment of this problem. The author has, nevertheless, given us a scholarly treatment of Canadian experience with the combination problem.

E. S. R.

Father Guillermo Furlong's *Los Jesuitas y la Cultura Rioplatense* (Urta y Curbelo, Montevideo, 1933, pp. 163) is a summary of the work of the Jesuits in the Rio de la Plata region before their expulsion in 1767. It covers their contributions as explorers (there is a map tracing their numerous expeditions over the southern half of South America), colonizers, geographers, mapmakers, ethnologists, philologists, historians, biologists, physicians, astronomers, architects, painters, printers, agriculturalists, educators, and in many other lines of endeavor. The showing is a formidable one. A spot map shows the location of their various labors and the character of each. Numerous illustrations give samples of such types of work as can be illustrated graphically. There is also a reproduction of an early map of Paraguay of much interest to the historian. Accounts of the expulsion of the Jesuits, of their contributions to the struggle for independence and of their relation to the later history of the countries of the Rio de la Plata basin are also included.

L. L. B.

*The 1932 Campaign*, by Roy V. Peel and Thomas C. Donnelly (New York: Farrar & Rinehart, 1935, pp. ix, 242) is a worthy sequel to *The 1928 Campaign* by the same authors. It is a thorough digest of the events and issues involved in the campaign and the men participating in it. The initial chapter discusses the Hoover administration, paying especial attention to the vulnerable points in its record of achievement. Then comes a concise description of "Men Who Would Be President," dealing with the aspirants of both of the major parties to the party nomination. Other chapters are devoted to the pre-convention campaign, the conventions, campaign organizations, issues, campaign strategy, and so forth. All aspects of the campaign



are considered fully. A later chapter discusses the minor parties and their issues and platforms. An appendix of some fifteen pages gives facts and figures regarding presidential election past and present. J. M. R.

The *New Mexico Business Review* for January, 1935, is a symposium on "Business and Government in New Mexico." Banking, taxation, investment problems, agriculture, public welfare, water utilization, constitutional revision, the relation of business to education and government, the status of labor, and a planned economy comprise the topics discussed, all but two being followed by supplementary, critical papers. The contributors include university professors and business men, though the views of the latter predominate. While this publication contains information of interest and value, it nowhere exhausts the materials which might be presented on the subject of business and government; some of the chapters, indeed, bear only indirectly on the central theme. On page 6 is the incorrect statement that Ohio was the first state to enter the Union after it was formed; it is almost unnecessary to mention that Vermont, Kentucky, and Tennessee were admitted prior to Ohio. L. E. A.

The story of the democratization of the Swedish educational system emphasizes the heroic character of the people of that state. It is told interestingly in Christina Staël von Holstein Bogoslovsky, *The Educational Crisis in Sweden* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1932, pp. xiv, 301), with especial reference to the influence of the United States upon that process. Of significance is the insistence of Swedish educators that the study of the classics must not be abandoned for a complete vocational curriculum. The campaign for equal educational facilities for women reveals idealism as an important element in the Swedish national character. The book represents a prodigious amount of labor, but it has the defects of redundancy and poor organization. C. A. M. E.

H. C. Engelbrecht's *Johann Gottlieb Fichte* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1933, pp. 221), as the subtitle indicates, is a study of Fichte's political writings with special reference to his nationalism. Its publication is particularly timely because of the present emphasis in Germany upon a nationalism of a peculiar sort in the authorship of which Fichte, rightly or wrongly, has been assigned a considerable share. The present writer attempts to present Fichte's philosophy in its true light in order to counteract false interpretations of his political thought. O. D. W.

Koppel S. Pinson's *Pietism as a Factor in the Rise of German Nationalism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1934, pp. 227) emphasizes the important connection between nationalism and religion, which the author feels has been largely neglected and which he shows in the influence exerted by a particular religious movement in Germany on the development of the nationalistic spirit of the German people. Pietism was a peculiarly German movement which had its start in the late seventeenth century; it assumed a variety of forms, but did not become important until the eighteenth century. It seems to have been somewhat akin to the Methodist movement

in England. Its rousing and emotional qualities aided, the writer contends, in preparing the German people for the great surge of nationalistic feeling which was later to engulf them.

O. D. W.

*The Grand Social Enterprise* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1932, pp. 109) by Elmer Louis Kayser is described as "a study of Jeremy Bentham in his relation to liberal nationalism." Bentham's influence on the development of internal programs of liberal legislation and his recognition of the validity of nationalities, of the right of self-determination, and of the necessity of developing liberal principles to govern the inter-relationships of nations are emphasized.

O. D. W.

*New Federal Organizations* by Laurence F. Schmeckebier (Washington: Brookings Institution, pp. 199) is a complete and detailed summary of the structure and functions of all the federal agencies established within the last few years. The book gives a concise statement of the content of the legislative acts and executive orders governing the work of each agency, a description of the central and field organizations, and statistical estimates of the scope of the various activities. It will serve as a useful handbook for the student of national administration.

E. S. R.

*El Problema de la Liga Beocia en el Papiro de Oxyryncho 842* (La Universidad de Buenos Aires, 1934, 86 pp.) by Dr. Clemente Ricci and his seminar is a fine piece of critical reconstruction, translation, and interpretation of one of the rare documents of Greek history under the direction of an eminent philologist. Supplementary explanatory materials from related Greek sources are also included for comparison and interpretation.

L. L. B.

Luis Enrique Azarola Gil, Uruguayan historian and first secretary of legation of his country in Argentina, has traced his ancestry in *Azarola: Crónica del Linaje* (Gráficas Reunidas, S. A., Madrid, pp. xii, 249), giving incidentally many side lights of historical value. Since the author belongs to one of the oldest and most distinguished families in Uruguay, the present account has distinctive historical value for students of that country.

L. L. B.